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College and School News

Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of HOWARD UNIVERSITY, addressing the twenty-eighth convocation of the university's school of religion in November, declared that the Christian church should cease stressing what God has done in the past and place its emphasis on what ought to be done now in the light of God's demands. President Johnson affirmed his conviction that churches, as co-workers with God, should employ scientific methods to attack the social evils of our day such as bad housing, unemployment, delinquency, and crime. He spoke with special reference to the effects of these evils upon Negroes as disadvantaged members of American society. Dr. Johnson's speech was a feature of a three-day conference held November 14-16 and attended by representatives of various denominations from twelve states and the District of Columbia.

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Ranking student in nursing in the August graduating class was Miss Faye E. Watson of Columbus, Ohio. A former student of Ohio State university, where she maintained a good scholastic record, Miss Faye maintained the highest scholastic record over the three-year period in nurse training. She is now serving as graduate nurse in surgery at Freedmen's Hospital, Washington, D. C.

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from schools of nursing was held December 1-2 at DILLARD UNIVERSITY under the auspices of the National Nursing Council for War Service. Purpose of the meeting was to plan ways to improve the facilities for nursing education available to Negroes.

CLARK COLLEGE was recently the recipient of one thousand dollars from the estate of the late Edward H. Greene. His interest in Clark college began when Mrs. Lottie Carraway, a niece of Mrs. Greene, was a student at Clark. In appreciation of what the college did for Mrs. Carraway, Mr. Greene made this bequest to aid worthy students in attendance at the institution.

Perpetuation of his memory will be carried out through a revolving loan fund for needy and worthy students.

Joseph J. Dennis, head of the department of mathematics, received his Ph.D. degree in mathematics from Northwestern university last September. On the basis of his excellent record maintained while working for his doctorate, Dr. Dennis was elected to membership in Sigma Xi, national honorary scientific society. He is also a member of the American Mathematics Society.

Miss Beatrice A. Bianchi, instructor in home economics at WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE until her Red Cross appointment, is now serving in Australia as an assistant club director. She is a graduate of Allen, Howard, and Columbia, holding an M. A. from the latter school.

The War Food Conservation Exhibit held at the college November 16-17 aroused great interest among members of the State Teachers Association in session at Charleston. A feature of the exhibit was demonstration of the canning of a hog raised at the college and prepared by the senior girls of the college department of home economics in the community canning center directed by Mrs. M. A. Jones. Sixty-three money prizes were offered besides blue-ribbon honors. The exhibit was sponsored by the college department of agriculture, cooperative extension service and vocational agriculture, under the co-chairmanship of A. W. Curtis, Sr., and L. A. Toney. A statewide exhibition was assembled and staged by committees headed by Rollins W. James, Sr., and F. H. Marshall, assisted by Richard H. Lowery of Institute, W. Va.

Students of the art department, directed by William Harris Fletcher, presented "A Panaroma of Arts" in a chapel program in November. Demonstrations were made of portrait drawings by Marcella Smith, with

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Sallie Jackson as model; of subject sketching by Mary E. Butler; of oil painting by Madge K. Dykes and Hampton Hanable. Carrie L. Dixon read at the beginning of the program and Florence Allen furnished the musical accompaniment.

Recent speakers at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY have been Dr. Broadus Mitchell, noted economist and author, and Miss Elizabeth Monkhouse, organizing tutor of the Workers Educational Association of Aberdeen, Scotland. Dr. Mitchell advocated recognition of the rights of defeated nations at the peace table and told his listeners that there is hope for a lasting peace in a world where the rights of all peoples, great and small, are given fair consideration. Miss Monkhouse discussed in detail Britain's educational program and her plans for rebuilding after the war.

On observation of its seventy-ninth anniversary in November, SHAW UNIVERSITY paid tribute to the life of its founder and first president, Henry Martin Tupper.

Honors have come recently to two members of the LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) faculty. Dr. Sherman Savage, head of the department of history, was awarded the distinguished service medal by the Missouri State Association of Negro Teachers at its fifty-ninth annual session. Miss Regina Goff, assistant professor of kindergarten-primary education and now on leave studying at Teachers College, was invited to membership in Pi Lambda Theta, an honor and professional association for women in education.

The department of English, headed by C. A. Blue, brought honors to Lincoln through the winning of first honors in a nationwide contest conducted by the National Tuberculosis Association. First prize, fifty dollars and a medal, was won by Miss Hazel Martin, who wrote her essay under the direction of Leslie Morgan Collins. In addition to the award of money and a medal to Miss Martin, the university received a plaque and Mr. Collins a certificate.

Spiritual emphasis week at HAMPTON INSTITUTE, January 8-14, was led by Dr. E. Stanley Jones, who for the past ten years has served in various capacities in the missionary work of the Methodist church in India.

Second speaker, December 15, in the institute lecture series was Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. He spoke on colonies in the post-war world.

First public appearance of the institute choir was made in Norfolk, Va., in December under the auspices of the Sons of Norfolk.

Dr. H. Mack Thaxton has been added to the faculty of DELAWARE STATE as professor

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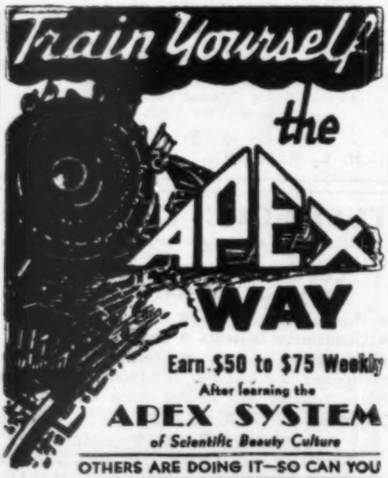

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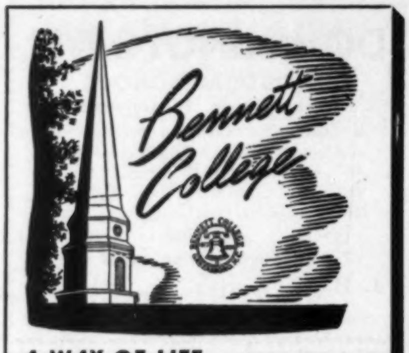
and chairman of the division of the natural sciences and mathematics. Dr. Thaxton formerly taught at A. and T. college, Greensboro, N. C. He earned his B. S. and M. S. degrees at Howard, and his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees at the University of Wisconsin.

Mrs. Elizabeth Wallace Imes, mother of Dr. Wm. Lloyd Imes, president of KNOXVILLE COLLEGE, died in the home of her son on the college campus November 18. She was educated in the Schools of Oberlin.

According to the 1943 annual report of the General Education Board, fifty-two awards, including thirteen renewals or extensions, were made to Negroes, requiring a total allocation of $84,195. These fellowships were distributed in the following fields: thirty-two in the social sciences, eight in the natural sciences, six in the medical sciences and nursing, and six in the humanities.

Songs of Negro Composers Used in Sixth War Loan Drive

Recordings of two songs by Negro composers were used on radio programs advertising the Sixth War Loan Drive, which opened in November. These songs were "The War Bond Man," by Andy Razaf, sung by Frank Sinatra, and "That's Why I Buy Bonds," written by J. Rosamond Johnson and Andy Razaf, and sung by Bob Hannon.



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Vol. 52, No. 1 **Whole Number 409**

CONTENTS FOR JANUARY, 1945

COVER Page

EDITORIALS 8

LEGISLATION IN THE 79TH CONGRESS
By Ernest E. Johnson 9

A NEW DEAL FOR FRENCH AFRICA
By Thyra Edwards 10

AT MY TABLE
A short story by Teresa O'Hiser 13

OUR STAKE IN A PERMANENT FEPC
By Ina Sugihara 14

WHITE POLICEMEN IN HARLEM 16

JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY: POET-PROPHET
By Thomas Bledsoe 18

ALONG THE NAACP BATTLEFRONT
News from the Branches and Youth Councils 20-24

BOOK REVIEWS 25-27

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THE COVER

With the thought in mind that the New Year cover of The Crisis should be a cheering one, both for the folks at home and for our fighting men overseas who have subscribed for the magazine in large numbers, we persuaded Mrs. Byron C. Minor of Chicago to let us use her photograph for January. Nothing can stop the men in uniform from using this cover as a pin-up, but we suspect that the proudest "pinner-upper" will be Captain Byron C. Minor, on duty with his artillery unit in Italy.

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NEXT MONTH

We plan to carry a psychoanalytic study of race hatred by Stetson Kennedy and a review of some of the problems confronting the study of the Negro in Latin America by Richard Pattee. Chester B. Himes promises us another one of his heart-probing short stories. We hope to have also Arthur B. Spingarn's annual review of books by Negro authors published during 1944 in addition to a picture story of what various Negro colonial troops are doing in the war.

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OUR CONTRIBUTIONS

Thomas Bledsoe is a free-lance writer and lives in New York. Arthur E. Burke is associate professor of English at Hampton Institute. Mrs. Thyra Edwards Gitlin, a frequent contributor to The Crisis, lives in New York City. Noma Jensen is assistant field secretary of the NAACP. Ernest E. Johnson is chief of the Washington bureau of the Associated Negro Press. Teresa O'Hiser lives in Tacoma, Washington. George S. Schuyler is New York editor of the Pittsburgh Courier. William Grant Still, the famous composer, lives in Los Angeles, Calif. Ina Sugihara is connected with the Religious News Service of New York City.

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33

Editorials

New Year Resolution

THE public conduct of some members of the Negro population in all parts of the country is a source of concern to thoughtful sections of their own group and to all persons interested in increased opportunities for minorities and decreased racial tensions.

Scores of committees on race relations set up during the past year will admit privately, if they do not assert publicly, that this conduct is one of the major items contributing to interracial misunderstanding and friction.

No section is free of it. Name any center of population from Miami to Milwaukee, from Los Angeles to Long Island, and obnoxious public conduct will be found. It flourishes on buses, trolleys and trains, on street corners, in busy downtown retail districts, and in factories and other places of employment. Last fall, when a number of brilliant Negro football players performed on important college and high school elevens in the East and Middle West, their deeds on the gridiron which brought credit and glory to the race were almost completely nullified by the rowdy conduct of their fellow race members in the stands. Women, it pains us to state, are as guilty as men, and of times more so.

Negroes have a right to demand the same treatment as other people. They have been mistreated so long that it is understandable in this wartime that they would break out into breezy exuberance over the turn of fortune that has forced them into better jobs at better pay, and into other opportunities not hitherto enjoyed. But this is no excuse for loud and boisterous talk and laughter, for profanity and other filthy language, for bluff, bluster and belligerency. Many whites are no better than Negroes, but the latter are marked in the public mind because of their color.

We should not fool ourselves. The "rough-and-ready" among us are hurting the whole race and endangering our chances of continuing with our just percentage of postwar employment. Let us make a New Year resolution to crusade against this type of conduct until it is rooted out. Let every minister, newspaper, club, lodge, union, and civic organization join the campaign. We must demand our rights and we must be firm about them; but we do not have to be ugly in our conduct. We must remember that with *rights* go *responsibilities,* and one of the chief of these is to be decent citizens among our fellow citizens.

Mass Crucifixion

THE navy courts-martial which found 50 Negro seamen guilty on a "mutiny" charge, and the army courts-martial which found 28 Negro soldiers guilty of rioting constitute nothing less than a mass crucifixion of the Negro race and its contribution to the war effort.

The sailors were given savage sentences ranging from five to fifteen years in prison. At this writing the soldiers have not yet been sentenced. The sailors were supposed to have conspired to disobey orders to load ammunition ships at a West Coast port. The incident happened right after 250 Negro sailors had been killed in an explosion loading ammunition at the port. The soldiers were supposed to have rioted against Italian prisoners of war stationed with them at Fort Lawton, Wash.

The sailor's defense was that they did not refuse to obey *an order* to load ammunition, that they were asked whether they wanted to go on loading after the fatal blast and a certain number of them said they did not wish to continue. The detailed record in the trial of the soldiers is not yet available, but it is known that they were incensed over the preferred treatment given Italian ex-enemies, in contrast to the Jim Crowism and humiliation meted out to them in the uniform of their country.

In both trials the statement appeared frequently in the press that these were the largest trials ever held by the army and navy in their histories, giving the clear impression that Negroes upset historic American tradition by mass disloyalty and violence in wartime. *The Crisis* recognizes the necessity for absolute discipline in time of war and does not condone mutiny or rioting by soldiers; but we cannot escape the belief that while these trials were staged under the cloak of enforcing discipline, there was the added purpose of smearing and crucifying the entire race. The boards of review in both cases ought to consider carefully this aspect, as well as the records and the pleas of counsel.

"You Must Prove Ability"

THE Town Meeting of the Air broadcast December 6 on the question of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee brought up once more, through Ray Tucker, a speaker for the negative, that old contention that Negroes must prove themselves if they would enjoy certain benefits as American citizens. Mr. Tucker never explained how a Negro worker could prove his ability on a job if an employer refused to hire him because of his color. In Camden, N. J., they are still chuckling over this story:

A young Negro radio technician applied for work at a large corporation and was refused. Some months later he was inducted into the army and assigned to radio work. He perfected a process and the corporation in Camden was asked by the army to set up a model and go into production. The corporation replied that it had no man in its employ with the training and knowledge necessary for this task, whereupon the army sent the young Negro to do the job!

We need a permanent FEPC in order to place the power of the government behind the simple American proposition that no man shall be denied employment and a chance to prove himself in a job simply because of his race, color, religion, or national origin. The bill creating this FEPC will come up in the new Congress. It was endorsed in the Republican party platform and by President Roosevelt in his campaign speeches, but the united support of citizens will be needed to insure its enactment.

No Jim Crow Conscription

A TREMENDOUS amount of pressure is being put behind the movement for peacetime military conscription of all boys who reach the age of 18. Hearings will be held as soon as the new Congress convenes and a bill will be rushed to the floor. Negroes should oppose this conscription bill because it will continue and strengthen the pattern of racial segregation in the army. We have had enough of Jim Crow army units. Every family in the land with a member in the armed forces has received overwhelming first hand testimony of the evil and hatred generated by the segregated system. For us to consent to the continuation of this system into the future, perhaps forever, would be to abandon altogether the fight against segregation of the Negro in American life.

For the other evil in this plan, aside from the perpetuation of the well-known mistreatments which are part and parcel of Jim Crowism, is that millions of white boys annually will be indoctrinated with the segregation philosophy. They will return to civilian life after their training period imbued with the idea that separate schools, separate recreation, separate housing, and separate transportation should be set up for the Negro. Moreover, since the army definitely limits the kinds of tasks Negroes perform in uniform and stresses "service" units, it is not unlikely that young Americans will be convinced that Negroes in civilian life should be barred from certain types of employment.

There is untold danger in this conscription bill and it should be fought with every weapon at the race's command. This editorial is strictly a "racial" argument, but we have no apologies for such an argument in those instances where America forces Negro Americans to think first in terms of race and second in terms of the general welfare.

Legislation in the 79th Congress

By Ernest E. Johnson

Bills covering social security, the poll tax, a permanent FEPC, anti-lynching legislation, and civilian violence toward members of the armed forces are going to be introduced into the 79th Congress. All are of importance to Negroes and should be supported with real vigor

PEACE or war, Negroes and their friends are going to press hard in this 79th Congress for enactment of certain legislation which, to their way of thinking, is imperative if the peace as well as the war is to be won. The prospects for the bills in question are good but indeed not assured, party platforms and personal pledges notwithstanding.

Comfort may be taken with regard to most of the special bills in at least three respects; namely, experience, new commitments, and a new Congress in which the controlling party has a clear majority.

At this writing, plans are being laid by prime movers behind two of the bills—anti-poll tax and a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee—to have them introduced rather early in the session. There is little doubt that this will be done. Apart from these two measures is one looking to the protection of men in the armed forces, and another to protect civilians against the evil of lynching.

Add to these the bills which will seek to extend social security to cover domestic and farm workers, and make available funds for public housing, and the field shall have been well-covered for Negroes. It is not to be construed that Negroes will not entertain an interest in other legislation—peace, reconversion, taxes and the whole gamut of bills of concern to average Americans. It is simply this—the Negro measures his place in American life by the extent of denials of life, liberty and the happiness for which he is everlastingly in pursuit.

Doubtless by now, several bills have been introduced in the House to abolish the poll tax as a qualification for voting in eight southern states. Vito Marcantonio (ALP) of New York, closely identified with HR-7 in the last congress, the bill which had the support of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax as well as that of the six other sponsors of similar legislation, has the same bill in again.

A discharge petition in all probability will shortly go on the table before the Speaker of the House, and a drive will get underway to collect the 218 signatures necessary to force the measure out of the Rules Committee. The job took less than 60 days in 1942 to achieve. Unquestionably the bill favored by the National Committee will experience lengthy debate in the House but ultimately will pass with a healthy majority. The vote taken on May 25, 1943, was 265 to 110 with 167 Republicans and 98 Democrats for, and 17 Republicans and 93 Democrats against.

Senate Prospect

The prospect in the Senate is better than it was in the last congress. The delay in bringing the bill to the floor is not likely to be experienced. To be sure, a filibuster will be attempted, and only a cloture vote can cut debate. A cloture vote on May 9, 1944, was 36 to 44, eighteen votes short of the two-thirds required. A powerful Republican figure in the Senate has told the writer that it is his belief that more than half of his party will support a cloture vote next time. The party is committed to an anti-poll tax bill, and in the criticism levelled at the Republicans during last year's campaign—the late Wendell Willkie being among these critics—it is said that the GOP poll-tax plank was "meaningless" because it proposed amending the Constitution in order to eradicate the tax. In light of the 1944 presidential elections, and in anticipation of the 1946 congressional elections, Republicans may see the wisdom of going along on the statutory approach.

As for the Democrats, their party platform evaded the subject entirely, but President Roosevelt later publicly addressed himself directly to the subject of "artificial restrictions" on the right to vote. He can be expected to push the Democratic side of the Senate, the northerners and westerners at any rate, to accept cloture and the bill itself.

Permanent FEPC legislation failed of passage last year because of the elections and because sufficient preparation had not gone into the fight that was so valiantly waged by the National Council for a Permanent FEPC. Few expected that the brainchild of A. Philip Randolph, in permanent form, would get as far as it did in the first year of activity of the organization which he had established to press for such legislation.

The bills will have to be reintroduced, of course, and again they will be coalition measures. Last November Mrs. Mary T. Norton (D) of New Jersey, chairman of the House Labor Committee, managed to get the bill reported without amendment. If hearings are held again—a step which is not at all necessary—the purpose will be to give opponents of a permanent agency further chance to be heard. The House will attempt, and probably succeed, in tacking on amendments, the nature of which is hard to predict at this moment.

Except for the south and the railroad brotherhoods, there is no real vocal opposition. However, endorsement by the American Federation of Labor of just the "idea" still leaves room for its legislative representatives to work against the bill. The Federation's objection is that it should not be applicable to labor unions. The Congress of Industrial Organizations is unequivocal in its endorsement and avid in its support.

Permanent FEPC Likely

The aid for permanent FEPC will be better this year with fuller cooperation coming from various national groups. Individual communities were beginning to work for the bill and were holding special events to raise funds to maintain the National Council—Dayton, Newark, and Kansas City being cases in point. The result has been a better educational campaign as well.

Here again a filibuster will be encountered after passage by the House, an almost assured thing in view of commitments from the Republican party and Mr. Roosevelt himself to have the bill passed. Has he not a congress which came in with him? Cloture will have to be sought.

A ticklish subject which only the Republicans chose to recognize in their campaign pledges was the treatment of Negroes in the armed forces. During the last congress, the chairmen of the military affairs committees of both chambers introduced, at the request of the War Department, an amendment to an existing bill which gives the Federal Government the right to prosecute persons who interfere with specified government officials. This amendment would extend this protection to men of the armed forces not already covered by the law.

The bill will not have to be re-introduced

(*Continued on page* 30)

A New Deal for French Africa

By Thyra Edwards

Just before his death M. Felix Eboue, Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa, through the famous Brazzaville Conference of January, 1944, formulated a new colonial policy for French Africa which will result in the ultimate independence of the natives

AT THE edge of the jungle in the Middle Congo Region is a town called Brazzaville. Here last February occurred an event that will mean a New Deal for 25,000,000 Negroes. In that small, partly modernized capital of French Equatorial Africa, 320 miles up the Congo river, was formulated the first major change by a western power in its policy toward native colonial peoples. Moreover, this historic event was shaped by a black man, France's first Negro colonial administrator, Félix Eboué.

Is that news? Would you think it worthy of an article or two in the press? Yet this truly international headline was hardly commented upon. Two small items appeared in American newspapers at the time, and none since. Brazzaville remains an unknown spot on the map in the common man's geography and history.

On January 31, 1944, forty-four colonial administrators of French Africa were called together by the French Committee of National Liberation at Brazzaville. Upon the conscience of French patriots were no crimes of jim crow, no crimes based on color—France has never set up any color bars, neither in its metropolitan area nor among its colonies—but there were other crimes for which expiation and full confession were long overdue. To be sure, the individual and collective consciences of other colonial powers in Africa were weighted down with blacker sin.

The general policy of the Union of South Africa, wrote an English expert on Africa, Lord Hailey, is "regulated by the determination to maintain the essentials of European civilization in the interests of its white population."

French Exploitation

But France had subjected its colonial peoples, as had the others, to the cruelties of forced labor, exorbitant taxation, military conscripted labor; it had spent little on health and education; it had permitted (except in French West Africa) private concessionaires to create a feudal empire. The infant mortality rate for the U. S. in 1936 was 57 per thousand; for France 69 per thousand; but for the lower Congo region it was 175.4 per thousand. In French West Africa, with a population of over fourteen million only 67,347 children were attending school in 1937; in French Equatorial Africa 18,952 out of a population of 3,423,00. However, in the northern province of Uganda (British) infants died at the rate of 356.5 per thousand. Or take this example of the "white man's burden," British style. In the Orange Free State (British) 93.4 percent of the total expenditures for education went for the whites, but only 6.4 percent for the 'enlightenment' of the Africans.

"Ah, M. Bruel," wrote René Maran in his introduction to *Batouala,* the novel that tore the disguise from French administration twenty years ago and literally created a sensation in France, "in your clever, ill-digested compilation you stated, correctly enough, that the province of Ubangi-Shari counted as many as 1,350,000 inhabitants. But you did not say—why didn't you? —that in a certain little village of Ouahm there were in 1918 only 1080 souls to the 10,000 that had figured in the census seven years before. You spoke of the wealth of that immense region. How is it you failed to remark that famine is queen there?"

But the forty-four administrators were meeting in 1944. For almost four years

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The Boy Scout movement in French Negro Africa has been subsidized by the government as one of the most effective means of developing a healthy youth. Here native boy scouts are singing their African songs.

blood, sweat and tears had given them a new vision of mankind. The French African colonies had been the center of French resistance to Germany. This could not be forgotten. France had fallen in June, 1940. On August 26, Félix Eboué, the Negro Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa, had rallied the colony to the support of the Free French—the first French colony to bring men and materiel to the cause. A day later the French Cameroons followed. New ideas were in ferment. On November 8, 1942, M. Eboué issued his famous memorandum on "Native Policy," which was to become a basis for the Brazzaville discussions and decisions.

"Any attempt to create or re-create a society in our own image, or even in conformity with our mental habits," he wrote, "is bound to fail. The natives have habits, laws, a homeland of their own, which are unlike ours. We shall not insure their happiness by applying to them the principles of the French Revolution . . . or the Napoleonic Code . . . or by substituting our government officials for their chiefs, because our officials will think instead of the natives, but they will neither think for them, nor express their viewpoint."

This was translated by the forty-four administrators a little over a year later into a principle that is in every sense historic. These are the words: "The prerequisite for the progress of the African continent is the development of the native population. The activity of the Europeans and the other non-Africans in the colonial territories of Africa must conform to this condition."

This is something new.

It does not say that the white man will get out of Africa, but all experts are in agreement that that would be a calamity for the native population at the present time. It does say—and that very specifically—that no longer can Africa be looked upon as an open field for economic exploitation for the benefit of the home country; that is, for the benefit of those individuals in the home country who are in charge of the exploiting. It means for France the eventual burial of the system, peculiarly French, of developing a native *élite,* and binding this *élite* to the French state by conferring upon its members political and civil privileges which are denied to the mass of the native population.

We must understand this *system of the élite,* if we would understand what happened at Brazzaville in February of this year.

In 1929 when I first visited Paris I, like thousands of Negro soldiers who had returned from an acquaintance with French equality during World War I, felt a deep, profound emotional thrill and uplifting, knowing and seeing that no shopkeeper, hotelkeeper, cab driver, restaurant owner, train conductor, real estate agent, no Frenchman of any economic or social status, would ever raise the question of color. I had just come from England where I could not get a room even at the shabby Westway Hotel. "We do not 'entertain Negro guests, madame." I had not so long before left the shores of the United States.

I revelled in this equality until one day I went to interview the black senator from Senegal.

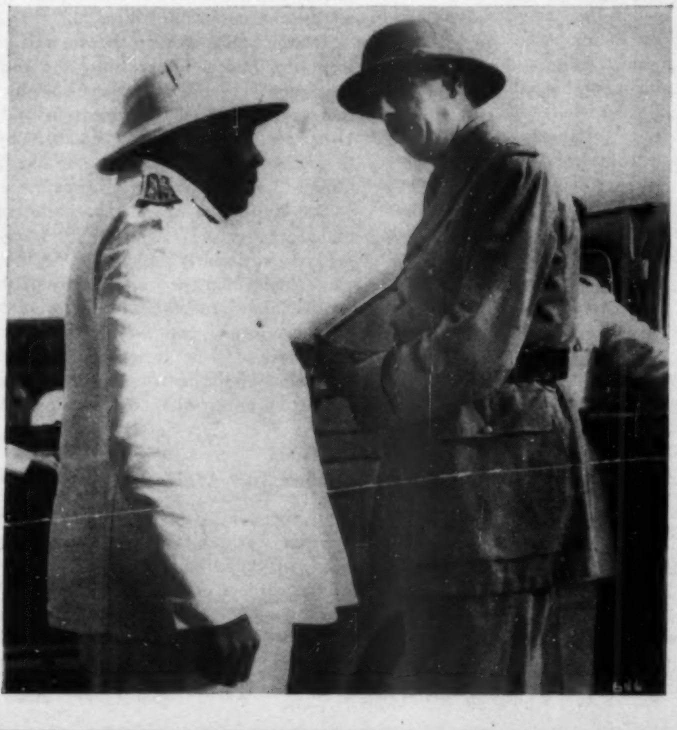
Though in my purse there were credentials from *The Woman Today* and the Federated Press, I presented the maid with my Associated Negro Press card. The bond of color, I thought. A few minutes later the maid returned. The senator would not see me! It was impossible to dismiss this as some indisposition on the part of the senator. He was at home, he was not ill. What significance did this "snubbing" have?

It was then that I discovered, and René Maran's *Batouala* played a part in this discovery, that though no man in France or its colonies was denied rights because of color, he was denied rights because of differences in education, and economic standing.

France had developed an elite. There were 25,00,000 Negroes in the French Colonial Empire. If you were among the top 10 percent, the assimilated, educated and propertied class, you were granted the privileges of a Frenchman. The other 23,000,000 were doomed to poverty and disease. In other words, the black senator from Senegal was telling me that he did not want any second-class American Negro, anyone from that underprivileged mass of black folks in the United States, crying "brother" on his breast. We were not brothers under or through the skin. He was a Frenchman, one of the elite. I was an American Negro, one of the dispossessed.

Englishman vs. Frenchman

The Englishman believes that things English are culturally superior. So does the Frenchman believe that things French are superior. The Englishman believes that his superiority is so innate that people of other races cannot possibly absorb it. The Frenchman believes that all people can absorb his superior culture. The English, in Africa, therefore, have not attempted to force their



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Right, a very alert Sara girl from Tchad. Left, Félix Eboué, late governor-general of FEA, with General de Gaulle. It was Eboué's leadership and policy that were responsible for the far-reaching changes in French colonial objectives outlined at the Brazzaville conference. M. Eboué was the first Negro governor of a French colony.

institutions upon the native people. Neither have they fraternized nor mingled their blood with the native races (except extra-legally). The French have followed a policy of cultural "imperialism" in their attempt to impose their "superior" culture upon one "inferior."

Raymond Leslie Buell describes it: "Once a native of Senegal absorbs French culture, once he obtains the *brevet diplomaire* or becomes a citizen by naturalization or other means, he enters into the fraternity of Frenchmen. His civil and political status at once changes. He is no longer subject to the rough system of taxation imposed upon the natives in the bush. He falls under the jurisdiction of professional French magistrates and the French codes. He escapes from the uncertainty of land tenure by securing title from the French government. Fnally, he is admitted to participate in the government councils . . . He may become mayor of one of the four communes or he may even be elected the Senegalese deputy to the Chamber in Paris."

In other words, he is a member of the elite.

But you see, when the day arrives to change this system it can be done much more readily and effectively by the French than by the English. For the French have taught the native to believe that he is the equal of the white man. Frenchmen marry native women. White and black eat at the same table. It was possible, therefore, for a man like Félix Eboué to set up in his first decree upon becoming Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa a new system in which political institutions would be preserved in order to conserve native cultural tradition. Political self-determination would gradually build up a mass base, not an elite. A plan similar to this exists in neighboring British Nigeria. But whereas Eboué's objective was to achieve native rule and to develop native culture because this culture had a value for the native and for the world, Britain's sole aim in granting cultural autonomy to the native was to achieve more efficient rule.

Brazzaville Conference

The Brazzaville conference in February of this year adopted this new policy when it recognized that "the prerequisite for the progress of the African continent is the development of the native population." It was a personal triumph for Félix Eboué.

The conference was unanimous in proclaiming the unconditional superiority of free labor, and to give labor in Africa the place of honor, the conference recommended:

"Social security be adopted for all categories of native workers, ensuring them a pension."

"A regular observance of the weekly rest day."

"Fixing the workday at eight hours."

"The development of workers' guilds are to be considered an effective means towards the amelioration of the native workman's status."

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A typical native belle of Brazzaville, French Africa.

"All the various trades must gradually be taken over by the natives."

These, too, were on Félix Eboué's program. "A good iron worker," he had written, "a good mechanic, a good mason must be respected as much as a good secretary."

The Brazzaville Conference stated categorically:

"The education of the African natives must, on the one hand, reach the masses and teach them how to live a better life; on the other hand, it must accomplish a sure and rapid selection of the elite."

The elite again. But this time it is more than an embrace of the past. Hand in hand with a progressive policy, as set forth at Brazzaville, aiming at the education of the masses, the elite becomes what the Russian call cadres, leaders trained to lead and to educate others to lead and to educate; it is only when such a policy of selection operates in a society that denies a man the opportunities through which he can achieve educational and economic stature that the system is repressive and the opposite of freedom and equality.

Furthermore, the Conference recommended that:

"Girls' education must be treated with the same attention and care as that of boys. Both must follow a parallel development, if a lack of balance which would be fatal to native society and family life is to be avoided."

It laid stress on medical and health services:

"It is indispensable to increase the present staff of African doctors from the present number of 700 to 2500 . . . It is advocated that a great medical school be established . . . The foreign governments should be approached with a proposal concerning the creation of a permanent common Office of Health . . . The realization of the proposed plan for health services implies as a necessary condition an increase in the number of native midwives, the recruitment and training in local schools of a personnel of medical assistants, hospital nurses and visiting nurses."

Basic Philosophy

It stated as a basic philosophy in the economic sphere:

"The aim in our colonial economic policy must be to develop production and to bring prosperity to the territories overseas, with a view to insuring a better life for the Africans by increasing their purchasing power and by raising their standard of living."

The conference set up a program for freeing the African woman of the numerous handicaps that make of her a slave over a wide area—bought and sold as such:

"It appears . . . possible and desirable to introduce without delay the notion of freedom of marriage, which means properly the freedom of the woman," the conference agreed. It therefore suggested that the administrators devote their personal attention to the following questions:

". . . the preliminary consent of the nubile girl or woman to be married, the dowry problem, that of 'marriage fraud' and of successive marriages." [Dowries are bought and sold like real estate here.] Further: "The efforts of the administrators should be aimed constantly at favoring an evolution of the various customs towards a status of liberty and dignity for the woman. As regards more particularly large scale polygamy, it is indispensable that this scourge of continental Africa be resisted by the administrators with all the means at their disposal."

A large public works program was recommended; immediate measures for restoring the fertility of the soil "exhausted by careless exploitation which did not devote sufficient attention to the damage caused by erosion." A committee is to go to the Soviet Union to study their collective farms.

The conference, in another basic concept, stated:

"It is particularly desirable in all the African colonies that the responsibility of the executive branch of the administration be assumed as rapidly as possible by the natives, regardless of their personal status . . . The education of the natives will be directed towards the progressive accession to public office."

Africa for Africans

In short, at Brazzaville was outlined an African world for the African. It can already be stated that this world will not stop at the borders of the French black colonies. Present at the conference were observers from Britain, the Netherlands and Belgium. The Netherlands has begun a concrete pro-

(*Continued on page* 29)

At My Table

By Teresa O'Hiser

While patiently waiting his turn in the clinic, Mr. Clayton happens to overhear a lecture on Nordic superiority from a scrubby specimen of that "race"

FROM far across the tideflats the noon whistles blew; the midday hum of traffic increased in the streets below. The pharmacist in the drug department set out her can of cinnamon. Before going to lunch she would burn the spice to clear the air of the heavy smell of sickness and poverty—of wrong diets, old clothes, unplumbed houses.

The clinic was almost emptied; only five remained of the "Thursday Morning Club"—as the nurses called the long rows of the anxious and the listless awaiting their "shots." Few other patients came on Thursday morning, and those who did sat apart, out of sight, beyond the turn in the long L-shaped waiting room. Not necessarily from squeamishness, but because the girl at the desk indicated, as she did now, "You may wait there, Mr. Clayton."

Mr. Clayton waited, his hand white-bandaged, only the long, curving flexible thumb, dark on top and white underneath, showing. He was a young Negro with deepset eyes brilliantly dark, yet soft, and a full-featured gentle face. His brown shoes new-shined, his overalls clean and pale at the knees, he sat in the furthermost corner, his feet close together, like a man ready to be photographed. He held his bandaged hand carefully, and stared at the three pictures on the finger-smudged, off-white walls. Two were old-fashioned prints. One, lovers in grecian attire at dalliance beside a reed-filled pond; the other, a misty Orpheus leading an equally misty Eurydice up out of the Land of the Shades. The third picture the boy looked at longest—a world-loved portrait hanging close to the door of the doctor's office. It worried him that the frame hung crookedly, but he was too shy to straighten it and sat where he was.

When an interne, white-clad, with a dark sharp face hurried into the drug department, the pharmacist whirled from her work among the labelled bottles. She was a plump, dark-haired girl.

"Oh, it's you, Dr. Friedman," she said. "Here's the capsules you wanted. Mildest we've got." She twinkled then, her cheeks dimpling. "And many happy returns on your birthday, child-prodigy, interne at twenty-two!"

He tweaked her nose, peered around the cubby-hole counter window to be sure that they were alone. Then seeing the boy in the far corner, he smiled and asked, "Wounded on the home front, buddy?"

The boy nodded. "First day on the job. Ah hurt the tip of mah finger, and then later ah burned it—now ah've got a felon."

"A felon's about the most painful hurt there is. You seem to be a pretty good soldier."

"Not last night I wasn't. Last night ah nearly climbed the wall with pain. But now ah'm telling myself the pain is exquisite—simply exquisite!" The boy grinned, showing his white teeth back to the last molars—teeth as white as the unironed shirt he wore.

The interne laughed. "I've got a patient upstairs I'll have to tell that to!" Three hospital bells sounded, and he grabbed the little white box from the pharmacist. "Thats the old coot now, I'll bet!"

Alone once more the boy got up and paced the floor, holding his bandaged hand and waving it with pain. Catching the curious eyes of the young pharmacist as she passed by her counter window, he sat down on a wicker settee close to the office door.

The door wass lightly ajar and a voice sounded distinctly from the office within—a new patient giving an old case history.

"I know I shoulda come before," the man finished lamely. "But you know how them things are—the more serious, the more you put it off. . . ."

The doctor's pen went on scratching. The patient scraped his throat. He hitched his chair. When he spoke his voice was high and ingratiating.

"We sure all enjoyed your talk, Doc, at the Union Meeting last Friday. I heard some of the guys talking about it afterward. Yep, socialized medicine's all right, I say. Socialized everything's all right—as long as it don't go too far—"

The doctor's pen went on scratching. Wearily he asked, "And what do *you* think's too far?"

"Why—why—well, f'rinstance, we had a colored guy come into our union meeting—electrical union I belong to. The business agent, in a quiet way, so's not to attract too much attention, takes the dinge by the arm, and talkin' to him low, edges him out of the room. Up pops one of them radical guys, rushes out, asks the dinge, "Say, buddy, what'er they tryin' to do to you anyway?"

"'I don't know,' the Negro says, 'seems the white folks don't want me to sit in their meeting. I paid my membership—I pay my dues.' And then that radical guy, you know the type, thin-faced, glasses, looks more like he oughto be in a college room than being just an electrician's helper, he rushes back in and says, madder'n any soap box agitator I ever heard, 'What's the matter with you guys I'd like to know! He's good enough to eat with. I see you sitting around and eating your lunch with him over there in the yard. I see you patting him on the back, laughing at his jokes. Why isn't he good enough to sit in here?'

"We all look down our noses embarrassed as hell. Because it's true, Doc, that particular dinge's likable as heck. But you know yourself, Doc, you've got to draw the line somewhere."

"Yes, Hitler draws it . . ." The doctor's pen scratched on.

"I don't know anything about him and the niggers . . . don't think they've got them in Germany. . . ."

"The Jews, I believe, he considers outside the white race. . . ."

"W-e-ll, I'm not sticking up for Hitler by a long shot, but it seems to me he's got something there. We've got too many Jews in this country doing damage in the high places. Why, Morgan's father was a German Jew—Du Pont's a Jew, and Roosevelt's name is really Rosenveld!"

"You're sure of all that? You know it sounds a little like Natzi propaganda you're so free with."

The man sputtered. He scraped his chair. "But . . . but you can find that in the library."

"Did *you* find that in the library?"

"No—but—well, anyway I ain't really got anything against the Jews personally—"

"Against the Negroes?"

"I come from Missouri, Doc. Maybe you ain't never lived in the south and seen niggers like Ive seen 'em. Got to be kept in their place. Filthy and dirty, niggers are. No, Siree, one ain't ever goin' to sit with me at my table!"

"Did you ever have a 'nigger' serve you food at your table?"

"Sure, on a train—"

"A filthy, dirty nigger?"

(*Continued on page* 29)

Our Stake in a Permanent FEPC

By Ina Sugihara

This article points out the accomplishments and weaknesses of the present FEPC, an outgrowth of the war emergency, and explains why a permanent agency is necessary in postwar America

CONGRESS will soon decide whether or not millions of Americans of color, and of unpopular creeds and backgrounds, will have a chance to earn a living following this war. The Scanlon-Dawson-LaFollette bills in the House of Representatives (H. R. 3986) and in the Senate (S. 2048), as they stand now, are the basis for an effective Fair Employment Practice Commission.

The 1944 lame duck Congress, after a day and a half of hearings before the House Labor Committee, chose not to act on the measures. A favorable vote will mean a federal agency fighting job discrimination permanently. The temporary President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, created June 25, 1941, by an Executive Order, is slated to go out of existence next June.

The existing FEPC was originally empowered to discourage discrimination in employment by government agencies and defense plants based on race, creed, color or national origin. This Committee was organized because Walter White, A. Philip Randolph, Frank R. Crosswaith, and Layle Lane, representing thousands, visited the President and threatened a march on Washington if he would not make such an effort.

The FEPC was later reinforced by Executive Order 9346, issued on May 27, 1943, which gave it additional scope and larger facilities. The Committee's jurisdiction today extends over any company holding a contract or sub-contract with the government, in addition to government agencies and war plants. Discrimination on the basis of ancestry was added to the original complaints of race, creed, color, and national origin. A Presidential statement in January, 1942, included aliens among these.

This means that because of the work of many organizations like the NAACP, the Workers Defense League, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the March on Washington Movement, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Socialist Party, not only Negroes but Catholics, Jews, Japanese-Americans, Chinese-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh-day Adventists, and refugees are protected from unfair treatment by certain employers.

Protection Temporary

But this protection is a temporary expedient without sufficient power and scope to remove discrimination in our economy on any large scale. The Committee has only executive powers in a limited field, though it has done well in that field, and it has met unusually difficult hardships. Only a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission can hope to tackle the most flagrant practices in our major industries.

The present FEPC has had a harder struggle for existence than perhaps any other agency. Aside from lacking sufficient funds and personnel, its status as a committee has been changed often. First it functioned in the Labor Division of the Office of Production Management; then it was placed under the War Manpower Commission, where Paul V. McNutt postponed indefinitely the Railroad Hearings scheduled for February, 1943; now it is an independent agency, as a result of Executive Order 9346, with funds appropriated by Congress every June and twelve regional offices which handle complaints and make investigations.

The Committee never had free enough rein or authority necessary to do its job. It has no power to appeal to the courts and, being a government agency, it cannot look for cases—the cases must come through complainants or the United States Employment Service which refers instances of discrimination against applicants and of employers requesting "Christians," "whites," etc. Even though members of the Committee or its regional directors may know that X Company discriminates against Negroes, or Jews, or others, neither the Washington headquarters nor the regional directors can conduct an investigation on X Company or make it change its policy unless the USES requests an investigation or someone complains of having been denied a job with the concern because of his minority status, refused promotion, or given an unfair salary.

Official OWI photo by Roger Smith

FEPC MEMBER

Milton P. Webster, International Vice President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and labor representative of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

As a federal agency the Committee's scope is not complete, for it has no jurisdiction over the armed forces, nor does it have jurisdiction over all inter-state commerce—only over those industries and businesses that are considered war plants or have contracts or sub-contracts with the government. This leaves out some of our biggest businesses. For example, the Committee does not touch the major portion of the garment industry not producing clothes for the armed forces; it cannot work on banks or insurance houses, five-and-ten-cent stores, movies, department stores or mail-order houses.

Jurisdiction Limited

It has no jurisdiction over intra-state or local commerce. For these do not have contracts with the government or produce war materials; otherwise, they would necessarily be inter-state. The existing FEPC cannot handle cases of discrimination in beauty parlors, small grocery or department stores, local banks, real estate concerns. It cannot influence state, county, or municipal agencies, being a federal committee.

When the war is over, the FEPC will have control over even less territory than it has now; for there will be no war plants and very few businesses having contracts with the government. Most of our major industries will still be excluded and the Committee will become even more than now an excuse to appease those who demand full employment.

Moreover, since the Committee is a temporary agency to help the war effort, its examiners cannot go to employers and say, "Look, Bud, this is a democracy. We want it in reality as well as in name. That means that we hire people on the basis of their ability, and not on the basis of color or race. . . ." They must instead point to the economic need of the moment: "We're fighting a war. We need goods for our men and our allies. You're hindering production by not hiring Jews. . . ." This argument will be washed away in peacetime and employers will not have been educated.

But the FEPC, despite its handicaps, has made substantial contributions to the cause of greater justic and equality for all.

One of its most important functions has been to prove to people, some of whom were previously concerned over the welfare of one minority group or another, that the fate of each minority depends upon the extent of justice given all other groups. As stated previously, the Committee handles cases involving a variety of people as covered by Executive Order 9346. In so doing, it eliminates the practice of discrimination as such and makes for better treatment for all, just as inequality crosses group boundaries and becomes a cancer in the lives of all of us.

Of permanent value to future efforts for better race relations are the lessons learned by the Committee from handling actual cases on race discrimination. This is an unprecedented practice, except unofficially on the part of outside private organizations. This experience can be the foundation for any new agency created to destroy inequality in any sphere.

Flagrant Practices Revealed

As an investigating agency its hearings, held throughout the country, have revealed flagrant practices. The railroad hearings, finally held in September, 1943, showed that both carriers and unions had been conniving to squeeze Negroes out of the industry for several decades, that Negroes cannot become engineers on diesel engines, that colored locomotive firemen had been shot out of their cabs, that one road alone needed 1400 skilled and semi-skilled workers in 1943, and that carriers hired new men and women for these jobs while experienced Negroes were being fired and no new ones hired. The findings were referred to the President, who in December, 1943, appointed the Stacey Committee to conduct further investigation and make recommendations. A year has passed and that committee has not yet taken action.

As an administrative agency, the FEPC has done wonders, despite inadequate funds and personnel. It has changed policies of officials who were real Bourbons. One manager insisted that he would not be responsible if "one of those 'coons' (meaning Negroes) gets a piece of red hot iron down his pants or . . . a man (gets) dropped into an acid trough." The FEPC induced this concern to eliminate its segregated toilet and washroom facilities without compromising any of the employer's responsibilities.

Official OWI photo by Roger Smith

FEPC MEMBER

Miss Sara E. Southall, Supervisor of Employment and Service, International Harvester Company, and industry representative on the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

The Committee has had personnel managers changed where they and not the company were found to discriminate. In one instance, all Jews referred to a plant as timekeepers were refused jobs, though people had been obtained from other sources and gentiles sent were always hired. Negroes and Jews were employed in production. The fair practice examiner from the regional FEPC office observed after numerous conversations that the company itself did not discriminate. He ordered the person hiring timekeepers to be replaced and directed the company to issue a statement to all its personnel managers, its officials, the union with whom it had a contract, and the U. S. Employment Service that it was hiring persons regardless of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry in compliance with Executive Order 9346.

This statement is required of all companies found to discriminate in hiring. If any concern refuses to obey an FEPC order, the Committee refers the case to the procurement officer of the Army, Navy, or Marines, who can cancel the company's contract for war materials. This is the economic, not judicial, enforcement now in effect. Final appeal is to the President.

The FEPC has for the first time challenged the Civil Service Commission's prerogative of appointing one out of the three highest ranking applicants for a position, which eliminated "undesirable" persons on any basis. A regional director recently referred the case of a Negro, who had not been promoted though two people with lower grades had been, to the deputy regional director of the War Manpower Commission, who reprimanded the appointing civil service officer. The man got his post.

Employers cannot go back on promises to their employees if they now produce war materials or have contracts with the government, because of the FEPC. One company tried it. It did not give Negroes the third of three raises promised when they were hired. Three of these complained through the Committee. The fair practice examiner visited company officials and demanded the raises. The company paid it.

Accomplishments of FEPC

Perhaps the most notable accomplishments of the FEPC is its successful handling of cases involving Japanese-Americans through a maze of other government agencies, necessarily and unnecessarily involved, war hysteria, hidden circumstances and personalities, and other factors not found in the usual cases.

In the New York regional office of the Committee one of the fair practice examiners is a "Japanese expert." He is a Negro. He obtained fair treatment for twenty-eight Japanese-American seamen in the Coast Guard who were stranded in New York—their homes are in Hawaii—through a complaint by one of them. The State Department would not issue passports for them to sail on the high seas even though they had all the necessary requirements. The examiner encountered considerable buck-passing between the State and Navy Departments and then convinced the Coast Guard, where the case finally landed, that machinery for appeal should be created for the one seaman. This was done and all the men can now appeal a denial of a passport to the district Coast Guard officer, who is actually their superior officer.

All of these contributions of the FEPC will be valuable in forming the basis for any agency we may adopt in the future to fight race discrimination.

But only through a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission, as outlined in the Scanlon-Dawson-LaFollette bills in the House and in the Senate, authorized by Congress to carry out the law of the land made by that body, can we hope to solve the tremendous problem of eliminating discrimination in employment by big business during postwar dislocation and depression. The argument we now use that people should be hired because we need them for war production will no longer hold; employers will be quick to fire workers since labor supply will exceed demand. Moreover, unrest among workers will cause greater hostility toward minority groups as job competitors. It will be a situation in which the economically strong are likely to "pit race against race, class against class; divide and conquer."

Most of the defects of the present FEPC are corrected in the permanent FEPC bills introduced in the House and the Senate, with of course, the exception of that problem of local industries. This can be handled only by state FEPC's, which will be a "must" if we want to end job discrimination on a large

(Continued on page 29)

White Policemen in Harlem

Relations between the police and Negroes in practically every community pose a problem recognized as a major one in interracial adjustment. A white policeman writes anonymously of Harlem distrust of policemen, police reaction to this hostility, and its effects upon police efficiency

NEGROES distrust and hate policemen, and this is not merely the opinion of policemen stationed in Negro precincts. It is the carefully considered conclusion of intelligent white people and Negroes who have concerned themselves with the problems of Negro welfare.

I am referring to the relationship between Negroes and the police in New York City. I know nothing about the problem elsewhere, although I know that if I were a Negro I would be considerably less happy in Detroit, for example, than in New York and that my life expectancy would be considerably shortened in the south unless I could learn to swallow all my pride and bucketsful of wormwood if events brought me in contact with the police.

Following the Harlem riot of 1936, Mayor LaGuardia appointed an investigating committee to study and report on the causative factors of that riot. The committee, composed of leading and forthright Negro and white citizens, submitted its report after a comprehensive survey, including numerous public hearings, had been completed. While that report has never been released officially its contents have become rather well known—through "leaks"—to those interested in the subject and have been published in several places.

Among other things the committee reported an almost universal hatred of policemen among Negroes. This hatred was not confined to a small lawless element nor to the most impoverished and suffering among the Negroes, but was as prevalent among propertied and professional Negroes—doctors, lawyers, teachers, civil service employees—as among relief clients and illiterates. Today, as then, first on the agenda of almost every conference for the advancement of Negro rights and Negro welfare is the subject of police brutality and the deprivation of civil liberties by policemen.

Police Aware of Hostility

Policemen working in Harlem or other Negro sections of New York City are aware of this hostility. Every one of them is made to feel like a soldier in an army of occupation. He is engulfed by an atmosphere of antagonism. If he cannot read the contempt on the faces of many of the passersby he certainly must give some thought to the fact that many of them seem to have to spit on the ground just at the moment that they pass him. An empty bottle occasionally hurled at him from a roof-top serves to remind him that he could not win any neighborhood popularity contests.

Policemen are not supermen, and 15,000 policemen can competently police a population of over seven million because they can count on the cooperation and assistance of most of those seven million. Not so in Harlem. A policeman patrolling a Harlem beat is on his own. If, for example, he should chase a thief through a crowded Harlem street no one will attempt to stop the thief—a type of assistance that policemen invariably receive in other neighborhoods. Rather is the fleeing thief likely to receive shouts of encouragement from bystanders.

A lone policeman making an arrest on the streets of Harlem does not commit the error of walking his charge to the station-house. The people who congregate to witness the arrest of a Negro by a white policeman may be only a curious crowd. Occasionally, however, they become a threatening mob held off at gun's point by the officer determined not to lose his prisoner.

The worst situation that a policeman can find himself in is that of having shot a Negro. At such times the fury of the Negro crowds becomes almost uncontrollable; akin in spirit, ironically, to a Southern lynch mob. The scene is not uncommon where a Negro has been shot by a policeman in a public place for a mob of thousands to form outside the hospital to which the policeman has brought his wounded prisoner. Like a bloodthirsty pack the crowd invariably roars, "We want the policeman! We want the policeman!"

> Do Negroes really hate policemen? While *The Crisis* agrees with the author's general thesis that Negroes and policemen must cooperate for the benefit of the community, we seriously doubt however if Negroes really hate the cops. What white police often mistake for hate is distrust, a deep scepticism as to the impartiality and fairness of the officer in the execution of his duties—especially where Negroes are concerned. We invite letters on this article and the issue it raises.

Illustrative of the interference that a policeman may encounter while making an arrest and of the fury unleashed by the shooting of a Negro by a policeman, is the incident which led to the Harlem riot of August, 1943. A policeman was arresting a colored woman in a hotel lobby when he was set upon by a Negro soldier. The exact details of what followed were somewhat in dispute. The policeman's version was that his nightstick was wrested from him by the soldier who then struck him with it, hurling him to the ground. There was no dispute that the policeman drew his revolver and fired it while sprawled on the floor of the hotel lobby, grazing the soldier's shoulder. Within two hours all of Harlem was ablaze with rioters and plunderers. The resultant casualties and property damage are well known.

Roots of Distrust

Thoughtful Negroes offer an explanation for this attitude of hostility toward the police. At times Negroes have everywhere been subjected to the most brutal and highhanded treatment on the part of the police. Economic outcasts and political pariahs, Negros had no effective political voice and hardly any leadership. They were therefore easy targets for corrupt and tyrannical police. Even with an honest police force Negroes could not expect even-tempered justice at the hands of white policemen who were reared with all the racial bigotry and prejudice of the most ignorant and who freely practiced "night-stick jurisprudence." Negroes had sufficient reason for hating and despising the police. From hating all policemen and police forces generally it was an unconscious mental step to hating any particular police force or policeman. That mental process, rather than a grounded bill of complaint, explains the feeling of New York Negroes towards New York police.

I do not believe that Negroes can make out a better case against New York police than that of remotely past events. Since the advent of Mayor La Guardia, certainly, Negroes know that they can expect and get the same treatment from policemen as white citizens. This is not to suggest that the Mayor alone is responsible for the improved situation, although much of the credit is his. But coincident with LaGuardia's administration there have been numerous dynamic changes in the Negro's social scene: a marked improvement in his economic situation; the rise of his political consciousness and with it an increased political strength; the development of effective leadership among his people; and a growing awareness among white people of the grave danger to democracy resident in the unsolved problem of racial minorities treated as second-class citizens.

Young Cops Antagonized

These factors alone, directly and indirectly, would have impelled a greater respect and solicitude for Negro rights on the part of policemen. But the same period witnessed the entrance into the police force of young, college-bred and socially-conscious men who did not have to be "de-educated" of racial prejudices. These men were not contemptuous of Negroes or indifferent to their plight. They were friendly.

They were friendly then. They cannot be described as friendly today. Perhaps their attitude fits the jeering description that some southerners apply to the views of northern liberals towards the Negro: They are sympathetic to the Negro generally but contemptuous of the individual Negro. The souring of these well-intentioned men in their attitude towards the Negro is a perfectly natural response of a human being working in an antagonistic atmosphere. It is as understandable and responsive an attitude as is that of the Negro towards the policeman. But understandable and responsive though both attitudes may be their continuance is unnecessary, undesirable, and perhaps even dangerous when one considers that mutual respect between police and Negro could have averted the Harlem riot of August, 1943.

One particularly sensitive young policeman said to me, "I'm disgusted with the police job and frightened with what's happening to me. My ideas about Negroes are getting to be the same as any Fascist's. The only way I can retain my beliefs in democracy is to quit this job."

At a meeting held to protest a certain act committed by one of these young policemen a Negro politician said, "Policemen like this should be required to take a course in sociology before they are permitted to work among Negroes." One does not have to wonder what this policeman thought when one knows that he was an honor student at college, a leader in progressive organizations there, and that he majored in sociology!

Should Drop Phobia

Negroes need not be unduly concerned about the sensitivities of frustrated friends. But can they afford to neglect their own interests? Does not unprovoked antagonism towards peace officers redound to their own disadvantage? Is not a peaceful, crime-free community more important to the residents of that community than to the police officers? Who suffers when policemen do not work at their maximum efficiency because of lack of community cooperation? The answer is obvious to every Negro who felt bitter pangs of shame for his community after the Harlem riot of August, 1943.

With his consciousness of his rights and with his knowledge of what to do when those rights are violated the Negro has become strong enough to rid himself of his police phobia. With a sympathetic administration ready and eager to correct any evil or punish any misdeed neither is there any justification for political use of policemen as public whipping-posts. Mass indignation meetings are hardly necessary when the police department's system of disciplinary trials is so effective that policemen dread them, especially when they are based upon a civilian's complaint.

It would seem, then, that in the problem of Negro-police relationship it is not sufficient that the police treat the Negro with impartial justice. It is equally important that the Negro know and feel that he is receiving such just treatment.

It is the concern of police officials that policemen be and act free of racial prejudice. Improved civil service standards have resulted in the appointment of better educated policemen thereby solving, to some extent, that part of the problem. A recent experiment, however, conducted among graduate students at Columbia University showed the extent to which racial intolerance can exist even among such an educated group. Happily, it also showed that much of that intolerance could be eradicated by a simple educational program. A similar program evolved by police officials, educators and Negro leaders would yield interesting and doubtlessly profitable results.

The other half of the job, that of instilling in Negroes respect for and confidence in their police, is by far the larger half of the problem. Negro leaders who have brought their people so far in the past ten years must bend their efforts in this direction. New York Negroes need it. New York police deserve it.

Negro Women Spokesmen For Organization

Negro women served as spokesmen for three organizations among a total of thirty-one national organizations attending a conference of postwar adjustments of women workers under auspices of the Womens Bureau, United States Department of Labor, December 4-5. The Negro spokesmen included: Mrs. Anne Arnold Hedgeman, representing the United Council of Church Women; Mrs. Jenetta Welch Brown of the National Council of Negro Women, Inc.; and Miss Helen Hostetter, who represented the National Association of Colored Women.

BLACK BROTHER

The Earth is black
But the leaves turn up their green faces;
The Negro Sergeant examines his stripes,
And stares long at a picture taken from his Wallet;
The Earth is black
But blossoms are turning white;
The Earth is black
But peaches have a fresh redness, and
Apples stain the ground like wine,
The Earth is black
But sun falls with white fury.
Black Brother!
Part of God
Part of Satan
Soldier,
Fighter of fascism,
Welder, minister, lathehand,
Shipbuilder, planemaker, bomb designer,
Red Cross blood donor,
Black Brother!
You have riveted your guts to the guts of America.
You have welded your pain and shame to the soul of America.
You have sung psalms on the beating anvils as you shaped
Anti-fascist bombs for America.
Black Brother!
You've built ships under the sharp rain and burning sun,
You've riveted layers of steel plates for massive ships,
You've helped me plan the tail of that plane,
And took her up to test her.
Black Brother!
In the hot deck of the Sub we both dropped sweat like
Bricks, gulped hard and swore
When those depth bombs rocked and shook us,
Last Sunday night before the charge you took out your
Mother's picture, looked at it, and swallowed fast.
Now listen Black Brother
This ain't much but it ain't bunk
I don't love you
I don't hate you
In fact I never really knew you were around—
Mind if I shook your hand and said hello.

Bernard Sorkin.

REMEMBER

In lonely hours
When hope seems gone
And vision ebbs away
Like the tide;
In hearts that are strong
Hope never dies,
But envisions the rise of the tide.

Price DeAyllon Rice.

DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY

John Boyle O'Reilly: Poet-Prophet of Democracy

By Thomas Bledsoe

One of the early champions of the rights of Negroes as seen through excerpts from his speeches and writings

ONE of the best friends and strongest champions the American Negro ever had was himself the victim of political and economic persecution, imprisonment and exile; "legalized degradation," to use one of his own phrases. This man was John Boyle O'Reilly, nineteenth century Irish patriot, poet, and journalist, who, escaping from prison in Australia to the refuge of America, contributed mightily to the cause of the common man of whatever race, creed or color wherever oppressed and denied the fundamental rights of humanity.

The career of John Boyle O'Reilly is a long story filled with issues too complicated to go into here. He was born June 28, 1844, at Dowth Castle, Ireland; and died August 10, 1890, at Hull, Massachusetts. The following quotation from a memorial tribute by Cardinal Gibbons, late archbishop of Baltimore, gives a good idea in brief of the kind of man O'Reilly was and what he was about:

> In boyhood his imagination feasts on the weird songs and legends of the Celt; in youth his heart agonizes over that saddest and strangest romance in all history—the wrongs and woes of his motherland, that Niobe of the nations; in manhood, because he dared to wish her free, he finds himself a doomed felon, an exiled convict in what he calls himself 'the nether world'; then, bursting his prison bars, a hunted fugitive, reaching the haven of this land of liberty penniless and unknown, but rising by the sheer force of his genius and his worth, till the best and the noblest in our country vie in doing honor to his name.

O'Reilly arrived in the United States November 23, 1869, a fugitive from Tory injustice. Early in the spring of 1870 he was employed temporarily as a reporter on the *Pilot* of Boston—of which he later became part owner—an old established newspaper devoted to the interests of Irish-American Catholics. From then on for twenty years, until his sudden, untimely death at forty-six, he devoted himself as editor, poet, lecturer, and as active participant in politics to the fight for the common man: the oppressed of the earth; religious and racial minorities; the underpaid and overworked.

Fought Injustices

His editorials and speeches were clear, factual statements of the injustices he fought; their content was strengthened by his wonderful command of language and his impassioned belief in the equality of man. His poems, rising from the same source, his unwavering belief in the equality and brotherhood of all men, were at times tender, at times cutting with the precision of cold steel, and again fiery, burning with love of the oppressed or with hatred of the oppressors.

In all these, editorials, poems, speeches, he wrote and fought not only as a man who knew his time and its issues, but as a poet-prophet who saw a long way into the future. He saw so clearly for his own time; spoke so fearlessly and with such impassioned sense of the rights of man that he speaks to us today of our own time and its problems. So he takes his place among our own contemporary fighters against the political and economic injustices forced upon racial minorities.

From among the extensive body of his work, both prose and poetry, the following paragraphs relate to the Negro in American life in the nineteenth century. But because O'Reilly saw with such clarity and spoke with such honesty in his fight against the enemies (both foreign and domestic) of democracy, and because many of the injustices which he denounced remain after more than fifty years, what O'Reilly wrote has burning meaning for the American Negro and his white co-fighters today.

Here with the vision of the poet-prophet is one of his early pleas for the Negro in the south, written in 1873 when some Republicans in the north were losing sympathy for the southern Negro:

> . . . The destiny of the colored Ameriacn is one of the big problems to be worked out in the life of this Republic. The day is fast coming when this man's claim cannot be answered by a jest or a sneer. The colored American of to-day may not be equal to his position as an enfranchised man. He has still about him something of the easy submission and confessed inferiority of a race held long in ignorance and bondage. But this man's children and grandchildren are coming, and they are receiving the same education in the same schools as the white man's children. In all things material, before God and man, *they* will feel that they are the white man's equal. They are growing above the prejudice, *even before the prejudice dies;* and herein is the opening of the problem. . . .

Or, again, what O'Reilly said the evening of December 7, 1885, to the first meeting of the Massachusetts Colored League in Faneuil Hall at Boston about civil rights and human freedom seems almost an answer to the bid made during the last presidential campaign by both major parties for the Negro vote:

> . . . I don't care what your political preferences or parties are. I don't care whether you vote the Republican or Democratic ticket, but I know that if I were a colored man I should use parties as I would a club—to break down prejudices against my people. I shouldn't talk about being true to any party, except so far as that party was true to me. . . .
>
> I think it is as wicked and unreasonable to discriminate against a man because of the color of his skin as it would be because of the color of his hair. He is no more responsible for one than for the other, and one is no more significant than the other. . . . The highest interest of politics is the selfish interest of the people. You are never going to change the things, that affect you colored men, by law. If my children were not allowed into Northern schools, if I myself were not allowed into Northern hotels, I would change my party and my politics every day until I changed and wiped out that outrage.
>
> I was in Tennessee last spring, and when I got out of the cars at Nashville I saw over the door of an apartment, 'Colored people's waiting-room.' I went into it and found a wretched, poorly-furnished room, crowded with men, women, and children. Mothers with little children sat on the unwashed floor, and young men and young women filled the bare, uncomfortable seats that were fastened to the walls. Then I went out and found over another door, 'Waiting-room.' In there were the white people, carefully attended and comfortable; separate rooms for white men and women, well ventilated and well kept. I spent two days in Nashville, and every hour I saw things that made me feel that something was the matter either with God or humanity in the South; and I said going away, 'If ever the colored question comes up again as long as I live, I shall be counted in with the black men.'
>
> But this disregard for the colored people does not only exist in the south; I know there are many hotels in Boston, where, if any one of you were to ask for a room, they would tell you that all the rooms were filled.
>
> The thing that most deeply afflicts the colored Americans is not going to be cured by politics. . . .
>
> . . . Social equity is based on principles of justice; political change on the opinion of a time. . . .
>
> . . . so long as American citizens and their children are excluded from schools, theatres, hotels, or common conveyances, there ought not to be and there is not among those who love justice and liberty, any question of race, creed, or color; every heart that beats for humanity, beats with the oppressed.

The next year after the police in New York had threatened to strike if a Negro were appointed on the force (it wasn't traction workers then nor Philadelphia, nor the war year of '44); and after a high school in Indianapolis had dispensed with commencement exercises because eight girls of the graduating class refused to appear on the platform with a Negro girl, O'Reilly wrote:

"To insult and degrade a free man and tie his hands with social and statute wires, that cut and burn as well as restrain is worse than to seize him bodily and yoke him to a dray as a slave. . . . The girls who have disgraced themselves and their city ought to be marked with the scarlet letter.

"Every fair-minded man and woman and child in America ought to seize these shameful facts as a reason to make up their minds on the Negro question. They ought to say that every policeman in New York or elsewhere, who dared to say he was better than his colored fellow-citizen, was unfit to wear the uniform of an American city; and that every school-girl who was so un-Christian and so un-ladylike as to ostracize a fellow-student because her skin was dark, was utterly unworthy of a diploma from the public schools."

Spoke For The Mistreated

And yet again during the same year, 1886, in the month of April, after a Negro massacre in Mississippi, O'Reilly spoke for the insulted and injured; this time at an indignation meeting of Negro citizens of Boston assembled in the Phillips Street Baptist Church.

Coming to them as friend, with stern advice (which still speaks for the present and the time to come, even as for the spring of '86), and a friend's compassionate desire to soothe a new wound—raw and deep—not alone with advice, but with the healing power of encouragement and belief, O'Reilly said:

"I know nothing and care nothing about your politics or party preferences; but I know that if I were a colored man I should use political parties, as I would a club or a hatchet, to smash the prejudice that dared to exclude my children from a public school, or myself from a public hall, theatre, or hotel. The interest you have to protect and defend is not that of a party, but of your own manhood. Use party as they use you—for your own best interests.

"But the thing that most deeply afflicts the colored American is not going to be cured by politics. You have received from politics already about all it can give you. You may change the law by politics; but it is not the law that is going to insult and outrage and excommunicate every colored American for generations to come. You can't cure the conceit of the white people that they are better than you by politics, nor their ignorance, nor their prejudice, nor their bigotry, nor any of the insolences which they cherish against their colored fellow-citizens.

"Politics is the snare and delusion of white men as well as black. Politics tickles the skin of the social order; but the disease lies deep in the internal organs. Social equity is based on justice; politics change on the opinion of the time. The black man's skin will be a mark of social inferiority so long as white men are conceited, ignorant, unjust, and prejudiced. You cannot legislate these qualities out of the white—you must steal them out by teaching, illustration, and example.

". . . One poet will be worth a hundred bankers and brokers, worth ten presidents of the United States to the Negro race. One great musician will speak to the world for the black man as no thousand editors or politicians can."

After another series of lynchings four years later, he wrote:

> The black race in the South must face the inevitable, soon or late, and the inevitable is—DEFEND YOURSELF. If they shrink from this, they will be trampled on with yearly increasing cruelty until they have sunk back from the great height of American freedom to which the war-wave carried them. And in the end, even submission will not save them. On this continent there is going to be no more slavery. That is settled forever. Not even voluntary slavery will be tolerated. Therefore, unless the Southern blacks learn to defend their homes, women, and lives, by law first and manly force in extremity, they will be exterminated like the Tasmanian and Australian blacks. No other race has ever obtained fair play from the Anglo-Saxon without fighting for it, or being ready to fight. The Southern blacks should make no mistake about the issue of the struggle they are in. They are fighting for the existence of their race; and they cannot fight the Anglo-Saxon by lying down under his feet.

Then, because of this and similar statements, he was accused of dangerously inciting the Negroes. "It is neither Catholic nor American," a Catholic paper told him, "to rouse the Negroes of the South to open and futile rebellion."

To this he, also editor of a Catholic paper, replied:

"True, and the *Pilot* has not done so. We have appealed only to the great Catholic and American principle of resisting wrong and outrage, of protecting life and home and the honor of families by all lawful means, even the extremist, when nothing else remains to be tried. We shall preach this always, for black and white, North and South, please God."

Fair Toward South

He proved this too, for, democratic champion of the oppressed that he was, he opposed those of the northern states who denounced indiscriminately the people of the south.

"We admire," he wrote, "the splendid qualities of southern white men, their bravery, generosity, patriotism, and chivalry. We are not blind to the tremendous difficulty in the way of their social peace. We regard with conscientious sympathy their political burden, made so much heavier than ours of the north by the Negro problem. All we ask of them or expect of them is that they will approach its solution in a manner worthy of their own advantages and not destructive of constitutional law as well as the law of God.

"Our Southern white brethren must see that if they are permitted to do this sort of thing by law, our Northern aristocrats may some time attempt to follow suit, and make a law expelling common people, workmen, etc., from the railway cars, hotels, theatres, or wherever else our nobility want 'to be let alone'."

In the same year, 1890, June twenty-eighth, he had this to say on another occasion about the Negro whose social rights were ignored in the north as his political rights were denied in the south:

"Clement Garnett Morgan, the colored graduate of Harvard, who delivered the class oration last week, held his own manfully. His oration was as good as the average and very like all the others, just as Clement Garnett Morgan is like all other Harvard graduates, except in the color of his skin. Men who have traveled and observed and reflected know that all men are like each other; that the same keyboard touches all their notes; that a black, red, yellow or white skin has no deeper significance; and that there is no greater difference between 'races' than between individuals of the same race. But for all that, the position of Clement Garnett Morgan is an unhappy one; for the average American person calling himself an 'Anglo-Saxon' is the most mulish of all men in claiming superiority for his own little part of the human family. To him the black man is an inferior, as the brown man is to his British relative in India. If he can throttle a man and rob his house, that proves that he was created to 'govern him. This colored boy was elected class orator in Harvard partly through class dissensions and partly through the noble instincts of youth still 'uncorrected' by society and experience. When his oration was ended, and Morgan stepped out of Harvard and into the world, he ceased to be a 'gentleman' and an equal, and at one descent fell to the level of "the nigger,' who could never be invited to one's house or proposed at one's club, who would be refused a room at nearly all leading hotels, even in the North, and who would not be tolerated even in church in the half-empty pew of polite worshippers. Clement Garnett Morgan has trials and heart-burnings before him, and we wish him strength and wisdom to bear them. We trust that he, who spoke so well of 'vicarious suffering' in his oration last week will feel, that by his superior mental training he is called upon not to evade but to take the blow meant for his colored brethren. Few men have so great a cause nowadays as this educated Negro representing ten millions ostracized Americans. There are dignity and power in his hands if he be true to himself, which consists in being true to his people. Let no weak nerve draw him for an instant from their loving association. Their virtues are his own; let him labor to reduce their faults. The Anglo-Saxon will accept him only when he has proved his strength in the mass. The A.S. will not accept colored individuals, simply because he need not. Negro strength is in Negro unity;

(*Continued on page* 28)

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE BALTIMORE, MD., BRANCH

This committee served regularly throughout the year in successful execution of the program of the monthly membership mass meetings and in the solicitation of memberships. Their slogan is "Every day a membership day." Jentry McDonald is chairman and Mrs. Beatrice Martin, secretary.

Pacific Coast Conference: More than 70 delegates from 24 branches attended the first Pacific Coast regional conference in San Francisco, California, November 24-25, and discussed present conditions on the West Coast, outlined a program of action on major problems, and set the stage for the opening of a regional office of the NAACP in San Francisco.

Roy Wilkins, of the National Office, outlined the purposes of the conference at the opening session and thereafter the delegates discussed housing; the police and the courts; reconversion and post-war employment opportunities; legislative action, particularly civil rights bills; political pressure; education, particularly the school's role in the treatment of minority problems.

Dr. Dorothy Baruch, of Los Angeles, led the discussion on the minorities in public schools; Mrs. Tarea Hall Pittman, of Berkeley, outlined the housing situation with reference both to public and private projects; C. L. Dellums, president of the Alameda county branch, discussed the treatment of the Negro in the courts and police brutality; Augustus F. Hawkins, of Los Angeles, led a lively discussion on legislative action and political pressure. Presiding officers were Mrs. Clara B. Howard, Bakersfield; Dr. Edna Griffin, Pasadena; Joseph James, San Francisco; Thomas L. Griffith, Los Angeles; and Reverend J. J. Clow, Portland, Oregon.

There was lively and pertinent discussion on all topics with Los Angeles contributing its knowledge and experiences in dealing with restrictive covenants in private housing expansion, and the Richmond, Calif., branch revealed effective activity on public housing projects. Vallejo also reported on housing activity.

The Bremerton, Wash., branch submitted a proposed civil rights bill and the Portland, Ore., delegates told of the prospects for post-war employment in that area.

At the one night meeting, the delegates were welcomed to SF by Maurice Harrison, chairman of the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Civic Unity. Revels Cayton, of the Minorities Division of the CIO, and a member of the labor and industry committee of the Los Angeles branch, spoke on post-war employment opportunities, revealing that Negroes on the Pacific Coast are employed at present primarily in strictly war time industries such as aircraft, ship building, and on the docks. He stated that many peace time industries had no Negro employees and others had less than 1 per cent. He urged that among the steps to be taken to secure employment in peace time industry was the passage of a state FEPC bill. The other speaker at the night meeting was Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, member of the National Board of Directors and minister of the Berkeley Community Church. Dr. Gallagher warned the Association not to allow anti-Japanese groups on the Pacific Coast to stir up trouble between Negroes and returning Japanese-American citizens who are now being released from relocation centers. Music for the meeting was furnished by an interracial choir under the direction of Mrs. Alberta Mayo James.

Mr. Wilkins announced that the resolutions adopted by the conference, together with the results of a survey made in each branch by Noah W. Griffin, assistant field secretary out of the New York office, would form the basis of the program of the regional office in SF. Mr. Griffin, who attended the conference, is spending about two months visiting all branches on the Pacific Coast to find out first-hand what the local situation is, and how the regional office can help to improve the West Coast work. It is expected that the office will be open and under way about February 1. Following is a digest of the resolutions adopted:

Port Chicago "Mutiny": A complete and thorough investigation by the Secretary of the Navy and President Roosevelt into the circumstances growing out of the so-called mutiny of Negro seamen at Port Chicago, as well as a thorough investigation into the cir-

SOME OF THE OFFICERS AND WORKERS IN NAACP BRANCHES

Mrs. Birdie Beal Anderson, member of the executive committee of the St. Louis branch, and Clifford Smith, member legal redress committee Houston, Texas, branch.

Joe Oliver, supervisor of the West Temple area. Mr. Oliver raised individually a total of $1,195. He secured a $100 payment on a life membership from Garrison Lodge #5 F and A. M.; $250 from Holland Lodge #20; $150 from Egyptian Temple; and $100 from B. F. Tolbert Lodge.

David N. Julks and Mrs. E. P. Sanders, vice-president and secretary respectively of the Muskogee, Okla., branch.

cumstances of the trial.

Postwar Employment: Complete integration of Negroes in postwar industry on a basis of equality; that Negroes become as efficient as possible in the performance of their duties so as to reflect credit on their abilities and race; that Negro workers take advantage of the opportunity to become union workers; and that the NAACP take cognizance of the need for worker-training for postwar industry.

Legislation: Legislation for civic and community improvement in the Pacific coast areas; specific legislation for the benefit of minority groups; establishment of state FEPC's within the region; and enactment of civil rights statutes similar to those of the state of New York.

Housing: Pressure on public and private authorities for the allocation of housing facilities on a basis of need without segregation; proper representation on boards, authorities, and other bodies which control housing accomodations; condemnation of all forms of discrimination created or caused by housing agencies in the granting or insuring of loans, assignments of units, and developments of sub-offices dealing with minority groups; and the inclusion of a clause against discrimination in legislation on urban development.

Educational Policies: In-service training of teachers to develop better understanding of races and to correct where possible biased racial attitudes; condemnation of gerrymandering of boards of education, or pupil-transfer rules, in order to create racially segregated schools; and eradication of misstatements of fact in textbooks concerning Negroes.

Race Relations: Condemnation of the Native Sons of the Golden West and like-minded groups for their attacks upon Japanese-Americans, and the removal of Japanese-Americans of proven loyalty from concentration camps to their former homes; establishment of official city committees on race relations in Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles; and cooperation of Negroes with other minority groups in a fight for full equality.

General: That branches work out a plan for combatting discrimination best suited to their localities, and that each branch seek the advice and assistance of the national office.

NAACP FILES BRIEF IN RAILWAY BROTHERHOOD CASE: A brief *amicus curiae,* was filed November 20, 1944, in the case of Tom Tunstall and Bester William Steele, Negro firemen who had appeared, November 14, before the Supreme Court in argument against the Louisville and Nashville Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

Attorney Charles E. Houston, counsel for the two petitioners argued that while the brotherhood represented all the firemen on the two systems as exclusive bargaining agents, it barred Negroes and even made agreements with the carriers which had resulted in demotion and unemployment for Negro firemen. He maintained that under the principle of majority rule the majority could not use the government to exploit the minority. It was brought out also that under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, the union had made an agreement, February 28, 1941, with a group of southern roads that not more than fifty of the firemen in any seniority district should be "non-promotable." Negroes were designated "non-promotable," which meant that despite long seniority their places would be taken by white firemen of lesser seniority.

According to Mr. Houston if a Negro fireman tried to bring a case of discrimination before the adjustment board he would have to appear before a body composed partly of employers and partly of unions which bar Negroes. Therefore, he told the court, unless the firemen could go to the courts for relief they were being placed in economic servitude by Congress, which passed the Railway Labor Act.

FIRST REGIONAL LEADERSHIP TRAINING CONFERENCE: More than 150 delegates, representing seventy-three branches in the eastern area were present for the first regional leadership training conference, held Nov. 11, in the national office, 69 Fifth Avenue. The delegates were greeted by Walter White, secretary, and Ella J. Baker, director of branches, in charge of the conference program.

Delegates were present from Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, Delaware, Washington, D. C., Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey.

BRIEF AMICUS CURIAE FILED IN SCREWS *vs.* U. S.: Motion for leave to file a brief amicus curiae in the case of *Claude Screws et al. vs. United States* was granted in November. The brief is directed toward sustaining the statutory provisions under Section 20 of the 14th (Criminal Code 18-U.S.C. 52) amendment which provides: "Whoever under color of any law, statute, ordnance, regulation or custom, willfully subjects, or causes to be subjected, any inhabitant or any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color, or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."

The petitioners, Robert Screws, sheriff of Baker county, Georgia, and police officers, Frank Edward Jones and Jim Bob Kelley, arrested a Negro, Robert Hall, charging him with theft of a tire, January 29, 1943. He was unjustifiably beaten to death.

Oral argument of the case raised the question of the constitutionality of Section 20, because of its being *so vague and indefinite.* However, the brief points out: "Congress in its wisdom anticipated the danger that in many places unpopular minorities, Negroes in particlular, would find no effective protection for their civil rights save through federal legislation. Public officers, of ill will, undeterred by any strong local opinion favorable to the civil rights of minorities, would in many instances be wholly unrestrained from the invasion of vital constitutional civil rights but for these criminal sanctions." If the provisions under such statutes are not upheld, there will not be protection for anyone.

Protests Arrest of GI: The Washington bureau in November filed a protest with the War department concerning T/4 Carl A. Egerton who had been wrongfully arrested and detained by military officials at Camp Breckenridge, Kentucky.

Egerton had formerly served as chief radio operator for months overseas and had been transferred to the 372nd Infantry at Camp Breckenridge in August. He attended Loew's Victory theatre in Evansville, Indiana, Sunday, August 13, and sat on the main floor. After an usher sought to force his removal to the balcony, two civilian police brutally beat and placed him under arrest. The soldier was later turned over to the military police and lodged in the stockade the next morning.

In spite of the fact that Indiana has a civil rights statute, and no violation of the law was proved on Egerton's part, he was confined on orders of Provost Marshall Colonel Stevens, and held from August 14 to October 9 without trial and finally found "not guilty."

The NAACP has requested that disciplinary action be taken against military officials involved in this unlawful arrest and detention. The Evansville Branch is contemplating civil action against the management of Loew's theatre and the Evansville police.

Walter White to Visit Pacific War Zones: Walter White, executive secretary, left December 5, on the first leg of his trip to the Pacific as war correspondent for the New York *Post*. Mr. White expects to visit all areas where Negro troops are quartered, and to interview leading government, military, and naval authorities in all theatres of combat, and civilian circles. His itinerary includes the China-Burma-India theatre, as well as Russia. On the eve of his departure, he said: "I am delighted to visit additional battlefronts and to do whatever the NAACP can in improving the conditions under which Negro soldiers are fighting. I hope, also, by talking with the leaders of China, India, Russia and other countries to call attention to the importance of the world problem of race which must be solved right, if there is going to be any lasting peace in the world."

Life Memberships: The Norfolk *Journal and Guide* sent the association in November a check for a $500 life membership. From Corpus Christi, Texas, the association received $1,000 for two life memberships subscribed by Dr. and Mrs. H. Boyd Hall.

Branch News

District of Columbia: George E. C. Hayes, Washington attorney, was elected president of the District branch at a membership meeting at Lincoln Congregational Temple November 19. Mr. Hayes succeeds William H. Hastie, who came to the office in June upon the resignation of Rev. Arthur D. Gray. Dean Hastie will serve as vice-president of the organization under Mr. Hayes. Other officers named were Mrs. Theresa Russell, whose husband, the late Charles Russell, was one of the founders of the NAACP, honorary vice-president; Alfred E. Smith, secretary; Thomas E. Frazier, treasurer. Members of the executive committee are Spurgeon Burke, John Cromwell, Mrs. Constance E. H. Daniel, Eugene Davidson, John A. Davis, Mrs. Gladys Edmondson, Roy Garvin, E. B. Henderson, Charles Hill, Emmer Lancaster, Mrs. Bertha Lomack, A. L. Lindsay, Dr. C. Herbert Marshall, Mrs. Susie Miles, Miss Florence Phillips, George C. Rycrew, Mrs. Alma J. Scott, Rev. Stephen Gill Spottswood, and Mrs. Gertrude B. Stone.

Acknowledging receipt of $147.50 from the District branch, Mrs. Anna A. Hedgeman, executive secretary of the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee, expressed appreciation for the "vision, effort and resourcefulness displayed in the interests of a permanent FEPC."

The branch also condemned the recent teachers' institutes in which white and colored teachers met in separately segregated buildings. On the eve of the fourth inauguration of President Roosevelt the branch called upon the president to prevent racial segregation in plans for the inauguration on January 20.

HELPING HAND CLUB OF THE NINETEENTH STREET BAPTIST CHURCH

Scurlock

One of the most active church organizations of Washington, D. C., during the 1944-membership drive of the NAACP, this group ranked second in the city-wide campaign, securing 550 members and reporting $730.00. Mrs. Ella E. Bannister is president.

OUTSTANDING BRANCH WORKERS, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Top row, left to right, Clarence O. English, member of the executive committee and supervisor of the West side district, who reported $3,015 *in the membership drive. Rev. J. L. Caston, member of the executive board and pastor of the Trinity Baptist church, who reported* $639.50. *He also paid* $100 *down on a life membership. Mrs. Emma Spencer, the only woman district leader, supervisor of the Watts district. Total report for her district was* $1,875. *Included in this amount is* $1,616 *which she raised individually. Second row, left to right, L. G. Robinson, chairman special gifts committee. He paid* $100 *down on a life membership. Along with H. A. Howard he raised* $1,003. *Clarence S. Smith is financial secretary of the branch and winner of the district award for supervising East side district, Division B, which reported* $3,410. *He also secured the first and only* $500 *cash life membership during the campaign. Dr. H. Claude Hudson, supervisor of East side Division A that reported a total of* $1,012. *Dr. Hudson paid* $100 *down on a life membership. He served as branch president from* 1924 *to* 1934.

MARYLAND: In November the Baltimore branch telegraphed the President, Maryland senators and representatives urging the establishment of a permanent FEPC. The branch also requested the elimination of segregation and discrimination in the armed forces as well as protection of Negro soldiers from southern violence. Branch officials are still urging qualified bus drivers to apply for jobs with the Baltimore Transit company following the company's recent announcement that service curtailments were due to manpower shortage.

From November, 1943, to November, 1944, records of the Baltimore branch show 22,000 memberships sent to the national office. From December, 1943, to date the branch has on record more than 17,000 memberships received. "Every day a membership day" is the slogan of the membership committee, of which Jentry McDonald is chairman and Mrs. Beatrice Martin secretary. At the Roosevelt mass meeting in May this committee alone solicited 385 memberships. And Mrs. Anne Beadenkopf (white), who painted the portrait of Walter White, has inaugurated a plan to give NAACP memberships as Christmas gifts to her friends, including soldiers abroad.

In the city-wide wide-awake church contest, fifty-five churches brought in over 7,000 memberships. First prize, a $100 war bond, went to Douglas Memorial Community church, captained by Mrs. Beatrice Martin; second prize ($50 bond) to the Enon Baptist church, captained by Mrs. Ethel Raines; and third prize to the Orchard Street Methodist church, captained by Mrs. Etta Rice.

The branch has 500 Christmas seal booklets and seals are placed on all mail leaving the office. Office space has been enlarged to include two rooms and an additional room for exhibition purposes and meetings. Miss Edna R. Hopkins, a Morgan college graduate, is now office secretary.

New Mexico: The Albuquerque branch has been conducting a series of round-table discussions on the general theme, "Real Democracy in a United America." At the last meeting held October 19, 1944, more than a hundred persons attended a meeting at the YWCA to hear Dr. Joaquin Ortega, of the University of New Mexico; Miss Mable Schulte, of the local high school; Mr. Calkins of the grade schools; Father Reifer of the Catholic schools; discuss "The Role of the Schools." Sitting in as consultants were two experts, one of whom had made a detailed study of the Chicago plan for the teaching of Negro history in the public schools and the other the Springfield plan. Second topic in the discussion series, "The Role of the Church," was discussed November 19 by ministers representing some of the city's leading churches.

New York: James Egert Allen, president of the New York state conference of the NAACP, has written an open letter to the officials of the Pennsylvania railroad charging that company with "open and flagrant violations of the laws of the state of New York, the Constitution of the federal government, and the policies of the Inter-State Commerce Commission." Occasion for the letter was the refusal of a ticket agent of the railroad to sell Mr. Allen a round-trip ticket to Greensboro with Pullman-berth reservations.

Ohio: Among the achievements listed in the annual report of the secretary of the Toledo branch are the membership drive and housing. Under the general chairmanship of Miss Maude B. Ford, the branch took in during the summer 1,358 memberships and collected $1,851.00.

The three Cincinnati dailies, *Times-Star, Post,* and *Enquirer* have adopted the policy, and issued instructions to all reporters, that racial identity of persons reported in crime news is to be omitted. This change in policy is the cumulative result of several months effort by the Cincinnati branch and other local civic agencies.

New officers of the Cincinnati branch are Theodore M. Berry, president; Wilis C. Weatherly, first vice-president; Miss Sadie Samuels, second vice-president; Miss Louise Hodo, recording secretary; Mrs. Arabella Render, corresponding secretary; and Lewis Biggers, treasurer.

Pennsylvania: Mrs. Eunice Jones, secretary of the Lehigh Valley branch, attended the first leadership training conference of the NAACP held in the national office November 11. Election of officers for the branch was held December 5.

Principal speaker at a recent meeting of the Philadelphia branch was Robert Mitchell, chairman of the city planning commission. Another speaker at the same forum was Leonard A. Drake of the chamber of commerce and the board of trade. Consultants were Joseph Faison and Francis Coyle. The branch also endorsed a resolution urging that sewers in the city be extended to provide service for those sections of the city not now equipped.

The four innocent high school boys arrested recently on the flimsy charge of being suspects in the alleged beating of a city fireman were exonerated of all connection with the case and freed in juvenile court. The boys are members of well-known Philadelphia families and the fight in their defense was led by the Philadelphia branch. Attorneys Harvey Schmidt and John Francis Williams defended the four.

Youth Council News

The annual youth conferences convened at Virginia Union university, Richmond, Virginia, November 17-19, 1944. A total of 263 delegates registered from 17 states and the District of Columbia from 41 youth councils and 17 college chapters; the University of Cincinnati, Ohio, Harah Lawrence college, Bronxville, N. Y., Hunter college, New York and the Girls' Friendly Society.

The opening meeting on Friday night, November 17, was presided over by Marshall Shepard, Jr., president of the host chapter. Coburn Hall had a capacity audience to participate in this session and to hear the keynote address delivered by Dr. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., congressman from New York.

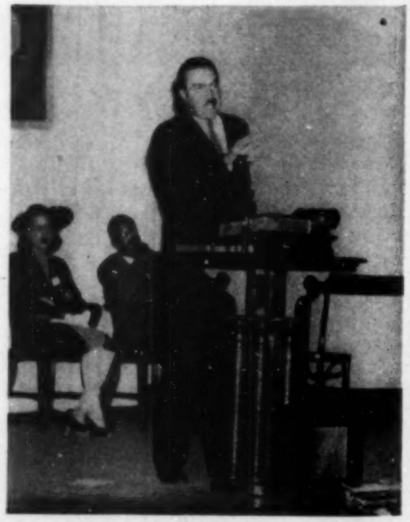
The usual reception to delegates was tendered by the president of the University, Dr. J. M. Ellison, after the mass meeting at Hartshorn Hall.

At the business session, November 18, time and place, resolutions and nominating committees were elected. The first discussion began at 10:15 following a period of group singing. Ella J. Baker, director of branches, led the discussion of "Recruiting for the NAACP, A Mass Organization." She pointed out the need for, methods and techniques of, and problems arising in the securing of memberships. Emphasis was placed on the need of a sustained program to recruit members.

Discussion of "Protest and Pressure Techniques of a Mass Organization," was handled by Gloster Current, executive secretary, Detroit branch. Using a brochure which had been placed in the hands of delegates as a basis for his presentation, he augmented it by staging skits to dramatize how a picket line is formed and how it operates; use of publicity; community-organization cooperation; and how to conduct a mass meeting on a specific issue. This was very well received and was entered into spontaneously by

(*Continued on page 27*)

Dr. J. M. Ellison, president Virginia Union, addressing delegates and visitors.



Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., congressman from New York, delivering the keynote address. Seated behind Rev. Powell are Mrs. Ruby Hurley, director of the conference, and Marshall Shepard, Jr., president of the host chapter.

Book Reviews

A NEW MUSE

***Recaptured Echoes.* By Odelia Phelps Wood. New York: The Exposition Press, 1944. 64pp. $2.00.**

Mrs. Odelia Wood's little volume of poems, though not something to set the world agog, is charmingly done. It contains, for the most part, brief pieces growing out of experiences, real or vicarious, of racial conflict, longing for simple recognition of human qualities, thwarted and achieved ambitions, love, maternity, and reflections on life in general. The bulk of the book contains, according to the author, poems for everyone, while the last six poems are for children.

Mrs. Wood is best in her brief poems, vignettes of those facets of life which she calls echoes. Examples of these are "Words," "Wistful Dancer," "Tom-Toms," "Life," and "The Hidden Song." Among the better longer poems are "The Maidens Thanksgiving" and "The Graveyard of Dreams." All of these have a consistency of rhythmic pattern which cannot be attributed to some of the others, and they demonstrate an admirable delicacy of touch. All, too, are based upon one of the author's fundamental impulses, optimism and religious faith. Unlike the poems of pure fantasy or those in dialect imitative of the Dunbar school, these have a genuine, though not too mature, poetic ring.

The writer has two chief deterrents to higher achievement. The first is a tendency to tag on morals as did Bryant, to deaden the effect by seeming to preach a moral which the reader has already gathered. The other is a lack of concreteness, of imagery which will sustain the idea however deep or ethereal it might be. Such handling of poetic language results in frequent use of the weak intensive "so", almost unpardonable even in prose. Despite these failings Mrs. Wood's first volume is promising.

ARTHUR E. BURKE

COMICAL, PATHETIC LIBERIA

***Top Hats and Tom-Toms.* By Elizabeth Dearmin Furbay. Chicago-New York: Ziff-Davis Pub. Co. 307pp. $3.00.**

Although Liberia is a Negro republic founded for and by ex-slaves on the West Coast of Africa nearly a century and a quarter ago, it is extremely difficult for any informed colored person to be proud of it. The pompous, impoverished, provincial little ruling class sitting astride the backs of the mass of the illiterate, though often admirable aborigines, is at once comical and pathetic.

FARRAR & RINEHART, N.Y.

WHITES & NEGROES ARE UNITED IN PRAISE OF

THE *Winds of Fear*

A novel by HODDING CARTER

▶ **"Vividly and brutally honest book . . . a manly and courageous one . . . A guide to intelligent conduct in war or peace."** — ***Richard Wright***

▶ "Vivid novel of a little Southern city makes your blood run cold—and then, if you feel that the Negro, too, is human, more than a little hot . . . Persuasive, swift-moving story." —*N. Y. Herald Tribune Books*

▶ **"An exciting and thoroughly realistic novel of the South of 1944." — *Roy Wilkins***

▶ "Truest . . . one of the most hopeful because it points to a positive solution." —*Louisville Courier Journal*

▶ **"Extremely moving and realistic novel of the South." — *E. F. Frazier, Howard University***

▶ "A much more important book than *Strange Fruit.*"—*Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.*

▶ **"Treats the racial problem with passion, tolerance . . The entirely dramatic story . . . carries a mightier impact than any factual account." — *Birmingham News***

▶ "Compelling and absorbing . . . accurately mirrors the racial moods and conflicts of the deep South."—*J. B. LaCour, Associated Publishers*

▶ **"Hodding Carter really did what Lillian Smith attempted to do." — *Claitor's Book Store, Baton Rouge***

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At your bookstore

FARRAR & RINEHART, 232 MADISON AVENUE, N. Y.

Eager to ape European civilization, these beggars go to absurd lengths in copying the superficialities of bourgeois democracy while entirely ignoring the substance. Thus with the temperature 100 degrees in the shade, these comic opera rulers trudge down their rocky, unpaved streets arrayed in top hats and claw-hammer coats on ceremonial occasions, imagining themselves thereby to be on a level with the diplomats of the Great Powers.

Their capital city, Monrovia, is a "metropolis" without a sewerage system, a reservoir or even a standpipe. Its harbor is so-called only by courtesy, and the government is even too shiftless to cut a channel for small boats through the sandbar which cuts off the town from the sea. There are no paved streets and but scraps of sidewalks here and there. Worse, most of the streets are not even free of outcroppings of rock. Jungle stretches from the city limits to the borders of the republic, save for the pleasant interlude of the Firestone plantation where suddenly one encounters a picture of what Liberia could be if run by industrious, thrifty and intelligent people. The Founding Fathers of Liberia and their offspring had every opportunity to make it an independent, self-sustaining state of which America and the Negro race might be proud. Instead they have sat down amidst incalculable natural wealth, subsisting mainly on loans and missionary largesse, and vegetated in an atmosphere of sloth and superstition.

Extremely vocal professing Christians, they are actually a pagan, sexually-promiscuous, diseased crew, dependent upon canned goods and other imported foods obtained from passing ships. It is at once a sad yet comical country about which Mrs. Furbay writes so knowingly. Her husband was for three years the head of the College of West Africa, a missionary school in Monrovia, and she spent her time noting down the foibles and shortcomings of the Liberians, along with the few virtues they possess. Her book presents a true picture of conditions, and for that reason will cause some professional Negroists to froth at the mouth and declare her prejudiced against their race and its "noble experiment" on the Grain Coast.

Like every other discerning person who has visited Liberia, she found the natives to be more admirable than the impoverished ruling class that keeps them ignorant. She sets down all the evidences of Americo-Liberian chiseling propensities, their untrustworthiness, their gift for poisoning, their astounding ignorance of the outer world, their addiction to Ju-Ju, their disdain of the aborigines, their failure to provide the country with any sort of school system worthy of the name, their plural families, their astonishing political gifts, the courtesy of their children, and all the thousand and one peculiarities that make Liberia a museum piece among modern nations.

Living in a predominantly agricultural country, only the natives know anything about agriculture. The stores worthy of the name are all operated by white people. There are few trained mechanics in the country, and the Americo-Liberians view with horror any suggestion of physical labor. Under the circumstances it is remarkable that the country has got on as well as it has.

Mrs. Furbay confines her account almost exclusively to Monrovia where she spent most of her time. There is much interesting gossip about life there among the handful of whites and the English-speaking Americo-Liberians. But one puts down the book with no desire to see Liberia nor to have anything to do with the Liberians. It is true that the ruling class may be similar to that in a dozen banana republics scattered around the Torrid Zone, but the fact that the Americo-Liberians present themselves as outstanding representatives of the Negro race and that their misgovernment is universally regarded as an illustration of Negro political genius lends especially poignancy to their case.

George S. Schuyler

Unsung Americans Sung. Edited by W. C. Handy. New York: Handy Brothers Music Company, Inc., 1944. 236 pp. $3.50.

Because I have been corresponding with my friend W. C. Handy during all the time "Unsung Americans Sung" was conceived and compiled, it has been my good fortune to have a special insight into its purpose. For Mr. Handy feels that this is his "protest" against injustices: a calm and well-thought-out presentation of many of the worthwhile things that have come from the Negro race.

It took research as well as talent to construct this book, for although some of the great people who are represented are widely known, others are rarely mentioned nowadays. Mr. Handy recognized the need for a wider understanding of their work, so he gathered together the musical tributes and the literary work of thirty-seven writers and composers in this single volume. It is gratifying to see that he has paid attention to Latin Americans such as Toussaint L'Ouverture and Rafael M. Trujillo and to a colored actor who became famous all over Europe: Ira Aldridge. As is fitting, noted American Negroes claim a large part of the book. Among them are Booker T. Washington, Crispus Attucks, Benjamin Banneker, Dr. Carver, Frederick Douglass, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Richard B. Harrison and two heroes of the present war, Dorie Miller and Robert H. Brooks.

Those who have loved the incomparable Florence Mills, enjoyed the singing of "Black Patti" and thrilled to the exploits of Harriet Tubman will find each of these memorialized in *Unsung Americans Sung.* There are even black and white sketches of Negro congressmen of Reconstruction days, and of contemporary colored statesmen. Musically, the book contains so much that is pleasing and varied that it is impossible to speak of everything in detail. It is important, however, to mention that in addition to W. C. Handy's original songs of a serious nature, his famous "Memphis Blues" appears with a new lyric by J. Russel Robinson. Also, one of Langston Hughes' best-known poems, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" is presented in Margaret Bonds' musical setting.

Everyone should find something to his taste in this volume. Besides musical and literary tributes, there is an evaluation of the Negro in American culture by Alain Locke, an editorial on the Negro press, a foreword by George Schuyler, and numerous timely suggestions as to the many good ways in which material of this sort may be used.

In closing, I must emphasize again my belief that the high purpose behind *Unsung Americans Sung* should bring its editor to the attention of Americans as a genuine pioneer, not only as our beloved "Father of the Blues," but as a man who has set out, in his own distinctive way, to lift the entire Negro race in the estimation of others by pointing to the achievements of other distinguished Negroes. The race would benefit by more such constructive efforts; it would be good for us if there were thirteen million W. C. Handys!

William Grant Still

BRIEF MENTION

Among the many new books of 1944 we wish to call attention to a few which we could not review at length. In *Play Songs of the Deep South,* by Altona Trent-Jones, illustrated by James A. Porter (Washington: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1944, $2.15) we have a good book for school teachers, provided the songs are used as "play songs" and not as "typical Negro songs." Many of the tunes are catchy and the wording is generally quite colorful and appealing to children. The drawings are alive and depict happy and energetic boys and girls. Directions for the folk dancing accompany each tune, which adds to the value of the book.

Were You There When They Crucified My Lord: Negro Spiritual in Illustration, by Allan Rohan Crite (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1944, $3.00) is likely to become boring after extended examination. We do not see why the artist attempted to portray the crucifixion both symbolically and realistically. The message would have been more poignant if Mr. Crite had stuck to one or the other method. His drawings are excellent, and the black-and-white motif is a constant reminder of tragedy and sorrow.

Unlike in format and content are *The Good Humor Book* (A Treasury of choice jokes, gags, cartoons, etc.), edited by Robert Rango (New York: Harvest House, Pub., 1944, $2.00) and *Sing, Laugh, Weep*: A Book of Poems, by The Scribes (St. Louis, Mo.: Press Publishing Co., 1944, $1.75). Mr. Rango's book is full of contemporary American humor: puns, limericks, etc., and has this virtue for Negro readers. Its Negro jokes are neither offensive nor stereotyped. The book also includes some of the best cartoons of E. Simms Campbell. What the Scribes have produced in *Sing, Laugh, Weep* is neither poetry nor humor. It is mere twaddle.

What an informed African thinks of the problems of Africa and the future of that continent are sagaciously set forth in Prince Akweke A. N. Orizu's *Without Bitterness* (New York: Creative Press, Inc., 1944, $3.00). Purpose of his book is to bring Africa "to the consciousness of the world in relation to our past, our philosophy, and our political heritage . . . to repudiate the old ideas that Africa is a jungle, and that there are only tribal states incapable of self-government." Discussing early African history, our author points out that western Africa had an effective postal system eight centuries before such a system was set up in Europe.

Two books which study the relation of the Negro to large organized groups, our armed forces in one instance and organized labor in the other, are Mrs. Ruth Danenhower Wilson's *Jim Crow Joins Up* (New York: Press of William J. Clark, 1944, $2.50) and Herbert R. Northrup's *Organized Labor and the Negro* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944, $3.50). Mrs. Wilson's little book is a study of the Negro in the armed forces of the United States. A Navy background and personal visits to camps have enabled her to gather many facts about jim crow and the treatment of Negroes in our military and naval establishments. Mr. Northrup's book, which should be read by every student of the Negro, analyzes the influence of unions upon economic opportunity for Negroes. It is a scholarly, well-documented study.

In 1929 the late V. F. Calverton brought out *An Anthology of American Negro Literature*, but in the fifteen-year interval there have been seminal changes in the intellectual and literary atmosphere of America as well as in the stature of American Negro writers. Sylvestre C. Watkins includes many of these new writers in his edition of *An Anthology of American Negro Literature* (New York: The Modern Library, 1944, 95¢). Newcomers included are Richard Wright, Roi Ottley, Philip Randolph, Allison Davis, H. M. Gloster, J. Saunders Redding, W. C. Handy, J. E. Washington, and T. R. Poston. The editor contributes a preface and John T. Frederick an introduction.

Conclusions of the Writers' Congress, held October 1-3, 1943, under the sponsorship of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization and the University of California, have been published under the title of *Writers' Congress* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1944, 5.00), edited by members of the Writers' Congress Continuations Committee. Some of the subjects discussed are nature of the enemy, the documentary film, minority groups, role of the press, creative radio, and Pan-American affairs. Negro speakers before the sessions and panels were Walter White, who spoke on Negro stereotypes in American movies, and William Grant Still, who spoke on "The Negro and his Music in Films." This is a huge and interesting book of 663 pages and worthy of careful and detailed study.

NOMA JENSEN & WALDO IVY

Youth Council News

(*Continued from page 24*)

the delegates, provoking a lively and intelligent discussion.

Afternoon address on "Negro Youth Relationships to National and International Minority Problems," scheduled to be delivered by Rabbi Edward E. Klein, was read by Miss Baker because of Rabbi Klein's inability to be present. Aziz Pabaney presented the international phase from the Indian viewpoint.

At the evening meeting a concise summary of the day's findings was given by Rev. James Robinson preceding the presentation of resolutions and the election of officers.

Miss Marjorie Penny, executive director, Fellowship House, Philadelphia, Pa., spoke Sunday morning and gave a very inspiring and educational talk from the subject, "Let There Be Light."

The conference voted to convene at Wilberforce university, Wilberforce, Ohio, for the next annual meeting, November 15-18, 1945.

Excerpts from the resolutions adopted by the conference:

POST-WAR PLANNING: Any agreement made by the allied nations must give full consideration to the rights of subjugated peoples; the youth of tomorrow be given equal opportunity in education, employment, citizenship rights, and the right to be free from fear and want.

HOUSING: Government to immediately direct its housing agencies to cease their discriminatory policies with respect to prospective Negro home purchasers; restrictive covenants be outlawed; local communities should discontinue unlawful zoning regulations which restrict Negro in housing and business to certain areas; and continuation of the government program of building houses for low-income groups to be occupied by all the people regardless of race, creed or color.

YOUTH CONFERENCE CHAIRMEN

Committee chairmen: front row, left to right, James S. Teele, not identified, Mary Belmont, Dore A. Beavers, Jr. Back row, left to right, James H. Bryant, Marshall Shepard, Jr., James Bell, and Wendell Russell.

Boyle O'Reilly

(Continued from page 19)

and it must so continue till the crust of white pride, prejudice, and ignorance is broken, torn off, and trampled into dust forever. Then, and not till then, Clement Garnett Morgan can be a cosmopolitan. Until then he must be a faithful, forbearing, helpful, and self-respecting Negro."

The foregoing selections show the manner in which O'Reilly answered the advocates of racism, of economic and political injustice in his time. But because of the clarity of his statements and their democratic and scientific truths, what he said then not only answers but challenges today's defenders of jim-crow in unions, organized religion, education, government, and the armed forces:

"Men who have traveled and observed and reflected know that all men are like each other; that the same keyboard touches all their notes; that a black, red, yellow or white skin has no deeper significance; and that there is no greater difference between 'races' than between individuals of the same race."

O'Reilly's poems, and he wrote a large number, breathed the same indignation at oppression and wrong and through them he spoke as a friend and prophet for all oppressed minorities. One of his best known poems is "Crispus Attucks," too long to quote here, with the closing stanza:

"Where right is crushed by force,
And manhood is stricken dead—
There dwelleth the ancient curse,
And the blood of the earth is red!"

And John Boyle O'Reilly, poet-prophet, knew that until all men are free the "blood of the earth is red."

(*Note*: All quotations from the writings and speeches of John Boyle O'Reilly in this article are from *Life of John Boyle O'Reilly*, by James Jeffrey Roche; Together with his Complete Poems and Speeches, Edited by Mrs. John Boyle O'Reilly, with an introduction by His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore. New York: Cassell Pub. Co., 1891).

Comment on the Grant Reynold's Series

I turn away from Reynold's articles on "What the Negro Soldier Thinks" with the feeling that he has given me very little information on what he or the Negro soldier generally thinks but a whole lot on how he, Chaplain Reynolds, feels. Some southern white high-ranking officers have been "mean" to him, and he is very bitter over the experience. His articles are clearly "revenge" articles, and he centers his guns on the War Department and southern crackerism.

All the charges of injustice Mr. Reynolds makes are true, and the American Negro is coming to hate discrimination with a hatred that is far bitterer than most white Americans easily imagine. But Reynold's attack is faulty, faulty because he fails to see the real issue. After all, the War Department is a conservative political department of a conservative political nation. It thus simply mirrors jim crowism, jim crowism which is a way of life of a nation.

* * * *

The tragedy in Reynold's case is that he is so personally hurt over bitter experiences of racial prejudice encountered in army camps and elsewhere that he has closed his eyes to basic evils which breed racial prejudice and all the other social evils.

—Excerpts from a letter by Dr. Lewis K. McMillan, professor of history at Wilberforce university, written as comment on the *Christian Century's* editorial on Grand Reynold's series of articles in *The Crisis*.

TO MY HEART

Together, together, always forever,
Not as two, but as one;
When lapse our time to eternity,
This love will shine . . . a perfect sun,
Where altars of true love will be,
From the sweet to the sweetest.

J. Dallas Williams.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorneys outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights.

CALIFORNIA

Clarence A. Jones
129 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 13
Telephone: VAndyne 1764

H. L. Richardson
1557 7th Street, Oakland
Telephone: 5998

Marshall Denton, Jr.
3429 S. Central Ave.
Los Angeles 11

DELAWARE

Louis L. Redding
1002 French St., Wilmington 30
Telephone: 3-1924

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Isaiah Lisemby
1609 First St., N. W., Washinton, D. C.
Telephone: North 7343

ILLINOIS

Ellis & Westbrooks
3000 S. State St., Chicao, Ill.
Telephone: Cal-4968-9

INDIANA

William Henry Huff
East Chicao (Direct mail to
520 East 35th St., Chicago 16)
Telephone: OAkland 6749

KANSAS

R. W. Johnson
436 Minn. Avenue, Kansas City, Kan.
Telephone: Fairfax 3867

MICHIGAN

Floyd H. Skinner
Michigan at Monroe Avenue, Grand Rapids
Telephone: 8-9042

MISSOURI

John A. Davis
2103A Market St., St. Louis

NEW JERSEY

Robert Burk Johnson
300 Broadway, Room 603, Camden
Telephone: Camden 0110

NEW YORK

William T. Andrews
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Telephone: LEhigh 4-0989

William T. Garvin
217 W. 125th St., New York 27, N. Y.
Telephone: ACademy 2-9260

Norman B. Johnson
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Telephone: SLocum 6-4760

OHIO

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Telephone: CHerry 1835

Jesse D. Locker
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OKLAHOMA

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Raymond Pace Alexander
40 S. Nineteenth Street, Philadelphia
Telephone: Rittenhouse 9960

Sadie T. Mossell Alexander
40 S. Nineteenth Street, Philadelphia
Telephone: Rittenhouse 9960

Theodore Spaulding
425 South Broad St., Philadelphia
Telephone: Pennypacker 4834

Fitzhugh Lee Styles
2200 West Columbia Ave., Philadelphia
Telephone: Stevenson 6182

Permanent FEPC

(*Continued from page* 15)

scale.

Of course, no government agency can ever completely end discrimination by itself, for we can do that only by ridding ourselves as a nation of fear and prejudice. It can only meet the needs of those who know that they are wronged and who want to do something constructive about it. But the sooner we have an agency battling job inequality, the sooner we insist on the establishment of such an agency, the more quickly will the people learn that discrimination in employment exists and should be abolished. Just as the anti-lynching bill, which has never been passed, has reduced the number of known lynchings, the fight for the FEPC will cause flagrant unfair employment practices to decrease.

The federal bills cover all employers in interstate and foreign commerce hiring more than five persons; this in addition to those holding contracts with the government or performing work indirectly for government purposes. They include labor unions among groups that must not discriminate; i.e., those who have five or more persons employed in concerns affected by the act.

They state: "The right to work and to seek work without discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry is declared to be an immunity, of all citizens of the United States, which shall not be abridged by any State or by an instrumentality or creature of any State."

Perhaps the greatest hope for success by the projected new FEPC is its authority to petition circuit courts of appeals to enforce its orders, as has been done by the National Labor Relations Board. Likewise, persons dissatisfied with the Commission's orders could appeal to the courts. Penalties are provided for employers and unions that do not comply with the Commission's orders.

The present FEPC's personnel, funds, and records would be transferred to the new Commission.

Thus the administrative and investigting ability of the present FEPC combined with the authority inherent in a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission would make a strong agency to fight job discrimination after this war.

The bills in the House and the Senate are at this writing in the hands of the Labor Committees of both bodies.

These measures would make it possible for the permanent FEPC to change the pattern of discrimination in our major industries. The railroads would not be as dangerous a field for Negroes to work in as they now are and Negroes would not be eliminated from them.

The five-and-ten-cent stores would not be able to flout discrimination in people's faces by hiring no Negroes in stores where the trade is almost completely colored. Of course, cases would have to be brought by complainants against these groups, but the authority would be there for people to use.

If a permanent FEPC is bolstered by effective state FEPC's throughout the country, we will have licked the biggest problem of discrimination that we have had to tackle. Greater unity among workers and consequently stronger bargaining power, better working conditions for all labor, and a breach, that might be enlarged, in the wall of discrimination would be the gains. It would no longer be necessary for members of minority groups to "scab" and lower labor standards in order to earn a living. Strong businessmen who will not maintain fair employment practices unless compelled to do so by law would be beaten.

Backers of New FEPC

The same people who demanded the original FEPC are now campaigning for the new one. They are organized in the Council for a Permanent FEPC with headquarters at 1410 H. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., which prods the labor committees of both houses to report the bills out favorably, obtains promises from representatives and senators, wherever possible, to vote "yes" once the bill is on the floor, and conducts a public relations drive through key people throughout the country to get local support and to educate the electorate.

Fair employment practice is a crucial issue for everyone in planning for a postwar America without race riots, without "Boss Hagueism," without another lost generation. For only by giving people an equal chance to produce and to be useful can we attain an economy of plenty with enough to go around, which alone will prevent stocked warehouses and empty stomachs.

French Africa

(*Continued from page* 12)

gram for directing its colonial possessions to self-government within the framework of a Netherlands Commonwealth of States.

The British Trade Union Congress is openly critical of British colonial administration and now maintains trade union committees in African colonies in order to assist natives in organizing trade unions so that they can bargain collectively and eventually win self-government.

The policy which one writer describes as a contest between "two teams, always the same, both white. One wears the colors of the Government and the other the colors of the business man. The Negro as the ball" is, to be sure, not yet extinct. But many of the decisions agreed upon at Brazzaville have already been put into operation by the local administrators. Others must await the approval of a new French parliament.

Félix Eboué will not see his vision put into complete operation. He died on May 17 from overwork and exhaustion. Had he been alive one could with some degree of hopefulness look forward to an Africa free of its "darkness." He was the acknowledged driving force. Brazzaville was his triumph. He had almost singlehandedly achieved a change in French policy. He had set in motion progressive forces within and without the French Colonial Empire. But so has the war. That a reactionary government selling the old line of imperialism will not be back in the saddle of France seems a certainty.

When I asked General de Gaulle on his recent visit to the United States, just what the African people can expect from the war, what improvement from their present conditions of ignorance and ill-health (except for the elite) he replied:

"It is certain that after the war France must be entirely reorganized and the administration of her colonies revised. This is a complicated process, but in the Brazzaville Conference this year we evolved a policy to bring all French territories to self-government."

At My Table

(*Continued from page* 13)

"Well, I guess they ain't all filthy and dirty. There's niggers and niggers. The educated ones is all right, but too many of them ain't educated."

A chair scraped again, feet moved. "Well, I guess Ive done a lot of talkin', Doc," the worker said lustily, "but you can take my word for it I'm workin' like the very devil, swing-shift, seven days a week—Sundays, holidays and all, buildin' ships to beat hell out of Hitler!"

"The door to the left across the hall for your shot. I don't think the nurse has left yet," the doctor said. "No, this other door out."

The young Negro sat with his bandaged hand between his knees. He slowly raised his eyes from the pair of broken shoes, with knotted shoestrings, shuffling through the doorway, from the bagging trousers, the stomach that hung out over the belt, straining the buttons of the greasy blue shirt. The man's face, heavy with pink, hanging down flesh, was unshaven, his nose pocked with blackheads. His red-rimmed eyes were blue and watery. He had teeth only on one side. . . .

VD Education in North Carolina

A venereal disease education institute for North Carolina has been established at Raleigh and a tentative course in human relations at Hampton Institute, Va., have been cited among the outstanding accomplishments of the federal campaign against venereal disease.

Legislation 79th Congress

(Continued from page 9)

since it passed the Senate on February 15, 1944, and had been reported by the House military group, although the congress expired with the bill bottled up in Hatton Sumners' judiciary committee. Nevertheless, it is on the calendar, and needs only to be reported from the committee and called up. The assurances given by the President to Walter White last November should make this action possible soon.

Race Not Issue

It is interesting to know that at no time has the element of race entered into the discussions. There are those in and out of government who have sincerely counseled "quiet" in the handling of this measure, that is, insofar as the "race question" is concerned. Chances of enactment, they said, would be improved. There is a genuine fear on the part of many persons that the proposed amendment might be going too far since it does extend the authority of the federal government right into the community for the commission of even a misdemeanor.

Just where anti-lynching legislation will head-in is problematical. In the past few years there has been a lessening of these crimes to some extent, prompted by public reaction and the war. Those instances where a Negro's life has been snuffed out by the use of a rope or a gun have been dramatized in Negro papers, and law enforcement officers, particularly federal, have winced; and some have felt a keener responsibility in the maintenance of order. The very existence of tensions attributable to the step-up of war production, and related change, has had a palliating effect upon mob violence of the lynch type.

The NAACP which has been the champion of anti-lynch legislation has not been unusually vocal on the subject since the outbreak of the war. Nevertheless, the Republican party felt constrained to commit itself to wipe out the evil.

The writer ventures to say that there will be a revival of anti-lynching legislation in the 79th Congress mainly because there is going to be a revival of lynching. This will be due to the repurcussions in American life and industry occasioned by the cessation of hostilities in Europe, bringing with it an outbreak of violence against Negroes who have pressed their claims during the war. Warning of this development has been given by many persons in responsible position. It is not to be ignored. A bill will be sought to meet this condition.

Negro people have not heretofore pressed with any real vigor for sound legislation in the fields of social security and public housing. Social security came in as a New Deal innovation, as did public housing for that matter. The original Wagner bill was tailored to cover many types of workers, but managed at the same time to exclude large segments of the American population—farmers and domestics—tremendously large numbers of whom are Negroes.

Expansion of Social Security?

A. J. Altmeyer, chairman of the Social Security Board, has already indicated that the Administration will seek a vastly expanded social security program which, if successful, will represent a boon to Negroes. Organizations interested in this legislation will naturally carry their arguments to Negro groups, in view of the benefits to be derived by these groups, in the hope that their congressmen may be persuaded to favor and vote for the expansion.

As for housing, the ball has been carried by far-seeing public administrators and social workers. This war has shown the woeful inadequacy of housing available to Negroes—warworkers or otherwise. The Negro press has carried more copy on the subject of housing than was the case prior to the war. One of the reasons is the fact that the lack of housing had been found constantly to be one of the causes of racial outbreaks and unrest in too many war production centers.

Public housing has done more to better the living conditions of Negroes than has any other single factor. Where wage increases have not been spent without thought of long run return, they have gone into war bonds. The result has been the same: the money has not been used for immediate personal improvement. On the other hand, public housing has lifted thousands of Negroes out of squalor, introduced them probably for the first time to regularity in living habits, health, and planned recreation. These are the things which have had lasting value and telling effect on the lives of people. With these things brought home to the beneficiaries of public housing, more advocates have been won. Moreover, the experience that has been gained will make interesting telling to those who are yet to be re-housed and won over to public housing.

In short, jobs, civil rights, and wholesome living will be to the fore in the minds of Negroes in the 79th Congress. Legislation which will protect and provide will be fought for by Negroes. And in this right there will be allies. Labor, notably the CIO, will be especially active. There are liberal southerners and dependable northerners who will aid in the cause too.

Further, what sort of schedule can be evolved is hard to predict. Those organizations sponsoring specific bills are no doubt aware that calendars are going to be heavy, and that considerations attendant upon the ending of war will have to be met without delay.

Considerable experience in government has been gained by the Negro in these past few years. His lost fights on important issues have whetted the appetite for battle and perfected the skill. The necessity of understanding price control in a rising market, tax liability, restrictions upon wage increases, and a host of other wartime measures, have educated Negroes to the whys and wherefores of legislation. Members of congress react more sharply to the demands of Negroes as a political factor to be reckoned with than ever before. It is not to be expected that there will be any waning in the habit.

Negroes want a free world, a free America—and to be free themselves withal.

WDL Pleads For Pardon For Tee Davis

An appeal to Governor Homer M. Adkins of Arkansas to pardon Tee Davis, a Negro farmer from Edmonson in that state, who is serving ten years in prison for alleged assault with intent to kill, was recently voiced in a letter sent by the Rev. Aron S. Gilmartin, national chairman of the Workers Defense League. Davis was convicted because he fired a shotgun through his own door when it was broken in at night by a man, who, unknown to him, was a special deputy sheriff hunting for thieves.

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The National Negro Insurance Association reported for 1943:

—Assets of $45,303,718.74
—Income of $66,049,648.08
—Insurance in force: $526,017,578.00
—Policies in force: 3,190,997
—Employment (36 companies reporting) 8,022 Negroes

GOLDEN STATE MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

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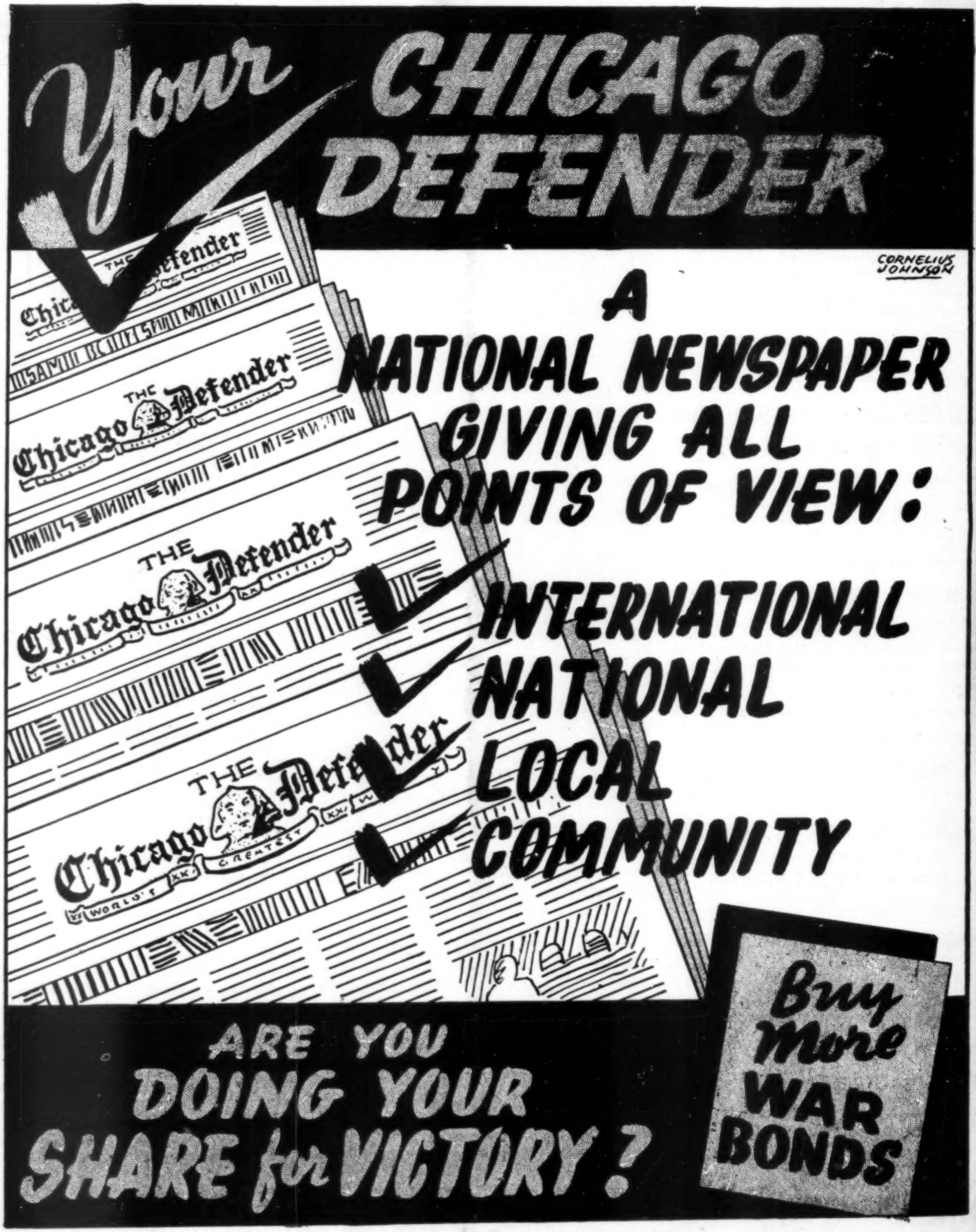

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